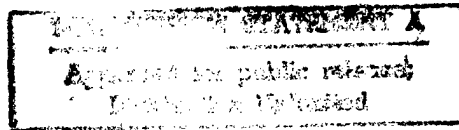


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JPRS 82183

8 November 1982



# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 358

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CONTRADICTIONS AMONG WESTERN COUNTRIES ANALYZED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 82 pp 2-4

[Article by Yang Xu [2254 4872]: "Dissecting European-American Contradictions"]

[Text] The meeting of heads of seven Western countries at Versailles in Paris on 4-6 June and the meeting of the NATO heads of state in Bonn on the 10th both centered their discussions on the common economic policies of the Western countries and their strategy for coping with the Soviet Union. Their background is: During the past few years, contention between the United States and the Soviet Union for world hegemony has become increasingly intensified; the Western countries are faced with the most serious and sustained economic crisis since the war. With each [nation] proceeding from its own interests, differences of opinion between the European and American states have become increasingly pronounced and their domestic and foreign policies likewise have become considerably different. In order to deal with the offensive of Soviet expansionism jointly, so as to come through the economic crisis together, the European and American states urgently needed to get together to discuss their grand policies in order to coordinate their stand and do their best to take consistent steps.

#### Content of Differences

European-American differences are reflected in a concentrated manner in three aspects of strategy: coping with the Soviet Union, economic policies, and Third World policies.

Differences in strategy for Coping With the Soviet Union. Since the war, the ratio of U.S.-Soviet strength has continued to change. Since the 1970's, the United States has continued to suffer disadvantages in the process of its contention with the Soviet Union for world hegemony; it has already felt handicapped in using its armed forces as a deterrent. While seeking detente over a 10-year period it has, contrary to its wishes, let the Soviet Union become stronger, and it finds itself far less able to constrain the latter's external expansion. And because of the decline of America's strength, its allies in Western Europe have been developing political and economic relations which have further weakened America's ability to control its allies. In reality, the hegemonist system that the United States established in the West after the war has already begun to collapse. The United States recognizes that if matters are allowed to drift on, the alliance relationship is liable to become shaky and America's ground in the Third World will also be lost. Before Reagan came to

office, the feelings in America's political circles had already undergone some changes: they began to regard detente as more harmful than beneficial, forcefully suggested a stiffening of attitude toward the Soviet Union, and demanded that the allies strengthen their armaments, deploy intermediate-range nuclear weapons, mete out economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, limit their development of economic relations with the Soviet Union, etc. Since Reagan has been in office, generally speaking the United States has adopted an attitude and policy toward the Soviet Union harder than before.

In contrast to this, the West European countries think that what detente has brought to Europe is more beneficial than harmful, mainly in the economic aspect. In the case of West Germany in particular, it was during these years of detente that it established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the East European countries and developed economic exchanges with them. The signing of the four-power Berlin Agreement served to mollify the warlike atmosphere in West Berlin, and relations between East and West Germany became ameliorated. The West European countries also think that the policy of detente may help gradually strengthen the centrifugal tendency toward the Soviet Union on the part of the East European countries; the Poland incident indicates that the Soviet Union's backyard is by no means stable. They think that as long as such contradictions develop but do not explode, they will keep the Soviet Union from minding much of the affairs of Western Europe and thereby facilitate the stability of the situation in Europe as a whole. The West European countries propose to have "both defense and detente": to have "adequate military capabilities in order to maintain the balance of forces," on the one hand, and to promote a "policy of detente" with the Soviet Union so as ultimately to establish a "sustained peaceful order" in Europe, on the other hand (Hammel's [Hamoer] report at the NATO Council of Ministers in December 1967). The West European countries are not opposed to strengthening their armaments, but they maintain that they must first negotiate with the Soviet Union in order to reduce the other side's armaments to the lowest level possible. They condemn the Soviet Union's policy of external expansion and aggression and also feel that the Soviet threat to Western Europe is becoming increasingly serious, but they are reluctant to stem the channels of negotiation with the Soviets. They not only do not wish to limit the development of their economic relations with the Soviet Union but also seek to close a deal with the Soviet Union on natural gas from Siberia and further expand such economic relations with them.

Differences in Economic Policy. The Western countries are faced with the three big problems of high unemployment, high inflation, and economic stagnation and decline. Reagan attempts to stimulate an economic resurgence through a large-scale tax reduction combined with a simultaneous tightening of the money supply and credit loans. As a result, investment has not increased but the interest rate for loans has quickly shot up. Considerable capital from Western Europe flows to the United States. The exchange rate of the American dollar keeps rising, resulting in sustained instability in the international money and trade market. This has produced a negative effect on West European countries in two respects: One is that the American dollar continues to hold good, whereas the currencies of the West European countries remain flabby (within only a year and a half, the exchange rate for the American dollar vis-a-vis the other principal currencies of the West has shot up about 30-60 percent) and their expenses for

importing energy and raw materials therefore go up, resulting in an increase in the rate of inflation in some West European countries. The other is that in order to prevent the exodus of their capital, the West European countries are forced to raise their own interest rates; as a result, their investment has failed to rally and their economic recovery has thus become hampered. In the case of Britain's GNP, after its 1980 decline of 2.3 percent, it again declined in 1981 by 1.2 percent. West Germany's GNP declined by 0.3 percent in 1981; the estimate this year is that it will not increase more than about 0.5 percent. Although France's GNP increased by 0.3 percent in 1981, its inflation rate has stayed at 14 percent. Therefore, leaders of the West European countries have repeatedly complained about the damage that America's high interest rate policy has been doing to the West European economy.

Differences in Dealing With Third World Questions. First of all, there are different views as to the root source of the instability in the developing countries. The United States indiscriminately regards this as a result of the Soviet Union's expansion of its sphere of influence. The West European countries, on the other hand, think that the Soviet Union's external expansion constitutes only the external cause of these countries' instability, whereas the fundamental cause lies in these countries' backwardness and poverty, which provide the Soviet Union with opportunities to make inroads there. The United States also often makes a distinction as to whether or not a country is anti-Soviet and anticommunist; all such regimes that are, would be given support. The West European countries, on their part, propose to put pressure on all political forces in these countries and help these countries to carry out certain policies of reform in order to mitigate their domestic class struggles. They hold that, in supporting the military dictatorships of some of these countries, the U.S. policy is shortsighted, and that while it might have some temporary effect in deterring Soviet influence, in the long run it can hardly remove the fundamental cause of instability in these countries. They propose to proceed from the West's long-range interests, adopt a gradual, reformist policy, and channel the Third World's national liberation movements into the West's course so that they will not be susceptible to Soviet instigation and control. Hence, on the policy approach to problems in this regard, including South-North relations, European and American practices are not coordinated and often run counter to each other. After Reagan assumed office, he adopted a policy based on maintaining America's interests in the Western Hemisphere, endeavored to improve America's strategic position in the world, and intensified the struggle to counter the Soviet Union. The United States thinks that any interference in Latin America threatens U.S. global strategy; the United States not only is engaged in a struggle with the Soviet Union for spheres of influence in this area but also is suspicious of any increase in West European influence in Latin America. On problems like Nicaragua, El Salvador, etc., Europe and America play different tunes and hamper each other's efforts there; this is precisely a reflection of the contradiction between them.

#### Whence the Differences

The rise of differences between Europe and America can be attributed to multifarious and complicated causes. On the one hand, as the Soviet Union has advanced into Afghanistan, moved forward in the Middle East, and threatened the



oceanic routes for oil transportation, the West European countries have heightened their vigilance toward the Soviet Union. On the other hand, along with the decline in America's strength, the West European countries feel that the latter's nuclear protection is no longer reliable, and they have a growing suspicion that the United States might seek a way out or fight a partial nuclear battle in Europe. Under such circumstances, European-American differences have deepened. Concretely analyzed, they are shown in the following aspects:

One is that Europe and America are situated in different circumstances. Europe is the strategic center of gravity in the Soviet-American struggle for hegemony; America is located far from the European theater but tries very hard to retain its established interests and battleground. Europe is situated in the forefront of the confrontation of the two groups; it is also the source and battlefield of both world wars; the people's memory of the last war is still fresh. Today, factors concerning the danger of war continue to increase, the two sides have both stationed heavy armed forces in Europe, and the nuclear weapons they have deployed and stockpiled are more than enough to destroy the whole of the European continent. Some personalities in Western Europe cannot avoid being worried about all this, and hence they hope to achieve some temporary peace in their own corner.

A second is that the degrees of dependency on foreign trade and raw material energy sources by Europe and America are different. Today, West Europe's total volume of foreign trade greatly exceeds that of the United States. When the 1978 proportions of export commodities and services to their respective GNP's are compared, those of the United States make up 8.4 percent; those of West Germany, 27.1 percent; those of Italy, 24.6 percent; and those of France, 20 percent. Three-fourths of the Soviet Union's trade with the West is transacted with Western Europe, and Western Europe's dependence on Soviet sources of energy and raw materials has already become sizable. For instance, the petroleum that the Soviet Union exported to Western Europe in 1978 made up 7-8 percent of Western Europe's total consumption, and the natural gas, 10 percent (25 percent [of the natural gas went] to Italy, 16 percent to West Germany, and 14 percent to France).

A third is that, because of the change in the ratio of strength between Europe and America, America's ability to control its West European allies has been greatly weakened. In 1979 the GNP of the nine countries of the European Community for the first time exceeded that of the United States, amounting to \$3.3 trillion and making up 23 percent of the world's total. The nine countries of the European Community have already achieved first place in world trade, with 34.7 percent of the total volume; U.S. trade makes up 11 percent; their steel production amounts to 140 million tons, which exceeds America's 126 million tons; their passenger cars make up 32 percent of the world's total production, while U.S. production has decreased to 29 percent. During the 10 years from 1969 to 1979, the European countries' share of NATO expenses increased from 23 percent to 42 percent. Because of such changes in the strength ratio, the status of the United States as the hegemon in the Western alliance is now facing a challenge: Western Europe is no longer the docile, obedient junior partner of the United States but an "equal partner" demanding independence and self-determination.

A fourth has to do with differences arising from different political party systems. Among the Western countries, there exist basically two political party systems: one is that of the conservative parties, such as America's Republican Party, Britain's Conservatives, and West Germany's Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union; they all belong to this category. The other is the socialist party system, such as the British Labor Party, the French Socialist Party, the West German Social Democratic Party, etc; America's Democratic Party is in general close to that system. The points of emphasis in the domestic and foreign policies of these two big systems are somewhat different. In terms of economic policy, conservative parties are often inclined to adopt policies centering on control of inflation; the main-current factions of social parties under most circumstances would advocate policies aimed mainly at solving problems of unemployment. Both France and Germany have socialist parties in power, and their criticism of U.S. economic policies has been therefore even more drastic; to a great extent, that stems precisely from this kind of background. It has been revealed that a study report by the Premier's Office in West Germany holds that the American and British Governments usually adopt an indifferent attitude toward poverty, unemployment, and such other social problems and hence threaten the stability of their societies. Rather than constituting a difference between the countries of Europe and America, such a difference of opinion may well be said to be a difference between the different political parties of the Western countries.

A fifth is the contradiction between the interests of Europe and America. This is saliently reflected in their economic policies. Western countries often use their neighbors as their refuge by making gains at other people's expense. And differences in their policies toward the Third World also reflect a struggle for benefits. The sharpening of differences between Europe and America in this regard reflects precisely a radicalization of the struggle of the Western countries for raw materials and markets during their current economic crisis.

#### Coordination of Policies, Mitigation of Contradictions

The two meetings of Western heads of state were convened precisely against the above background. In order to mitigate the disgruntled sentiments of his West European allies, Reagan on the eve of his visit to Europe issued a series of talks and policy announcements to assure them that the United States would not follow an isolationist path or withdraw its troops from West Europe. He also put forward in succession proposals concerning disarmament talks on strategic nuclear weapons, medium-range nuclear weapons, and conventional forces in order to mollify the West European countries. Before the meetings, the European and American sides also consulted with each other repeatedly in order to achieve common views. Thus, prior to the two meetings this time, the tense relations between the European and American sides were relaxed to a certain degree. The meetings touched mainly on questions having to do with the following four aspects:

1. With regard to the economy, both the European and the American sides hoped to "control inflation and increase employment, as well as promote the steady growth of their economies," and opposed each following its own particular course without paying attention to that of the others, so that the fallen track of world economic depression of the 1930's would be avoided. But in respect to

West European protests against high interest rates, the United States made no concessions; while agreeing to intervene in the matter of the exchange rate, it proffered no concrete measures. As for how to overcome the current economic crisis, no panacea could be found; the countries concerned would follow their own respective course according to their own circumstances. Because the economic policies of the European and the American side are likely to influence each other, it is expected that the differences and contradictions in this regard will still undergo ups and downs from time to time.

2. As for economic relations with the Soviet Union, the United States vigorously strove to limit trade with the Soviet Union, prescribe concrete limits on credit loans, refrain from providing interest rate subsidies, raise credit loan interest rates, etc. But because of vehement opposition by other Western countries, especially France and West Germany, all this has not been consistently realized. Documents of the meetings merely indicate in general that the development of economic relations with the Soviet Union conforms to the West's "political and security interests" and there is need to supervise the exporting of strategic goods. On this question, the European-American contradictions are saliently reflected. The United States proposes forcing the Soviet Union to change its policies through a limitation of trade with the Soviet Union, but Western Europe thinks that maintaining economic relations with the Soviet Union may help establish stable relations between East and West. Hardly one week after Reagan did his fence-mending, pacifying work in West Europe (on 18 June), he suddenly and without advance consultation with the allies in Western Europe announced an extension of sanctions against exports to the Soviet Union; this aroused vehement opposition on the part of the West European countries. (See the article in our last issues, entitled "A New Round in U.S. Economic Warfare Against the Soviet Union.")

3. With regard to military affairs, defense, and security, a common stand acceptable to the European and the American side was affirmed; the U.S. nuclear umbrella is indispensable; external expansion by the Soviet Union should be reproached; efforts should be made to strengthen defense without seeking superiority; a balance should be maintained at the lowest possible level; realization of "genuine detente" was advocated; efforts by the Warsaw Pact countries to secure military-related Western technology should be constrained; NATO's sphere of action should be expanded; disarmament talks with the Soviet Union should be promoted over reduction of strategic nuclear weapons; medium-range nuclear weapons, and conventional forces; and the convening of a meeting to discuss confidence-building in Europe and questions of the like was proposed. As for the crucial difference between Europe and America--whether to subdue the Soviet Union by expanding armaments and war preparations or by maintaining relations of detente with the Soviet Union and entrusting hopes to internal "peaceful evolution" inside the Soviet group; whether to maintain the balance through expanded armaments or through disarmament--this is still not reconciled.

4. With respect to the Third World, the United States accepted to a certain extent the views of the West European countries. For example, agreement was reached on global negotiations, recognizing that the draft resolution put forward recently by the Group of 77 may be taken as the basis for consultation among the countries concerned; economic aid to the developing countries should be increased in order to remove poverty, hunger, and other such factors that contribute to instability. But on concrete policies for coping with South-North relations, there is still a gap.

In a word, the two meetings of the heads of state affirmed common European-American economic policies and strategic goals, clearly defined the limits up to which the two sides could compromise and yield to each other when views are found to be divergent and interests do not appear to be consistent, but at the same time [the meetings] further exposed the differences and contradictions that will affect European-American relations hereafter. It remains to be seen how much practical effects the agreements reached at these two meetings will have. But the extended sanctions against the Soviet Union by the United States and the resignation by Haig have obviously cast a new shadow on European-American relations. While Europe and America will coordinate their policies and readjust their relations from time to time hereafter, along with the intensification of the Soviet-American struggle and the turmoil and change in the international situation, plus the state in which the Western capitalist world finds itself bogged down in crises and finds it hard to recover for long periods, European-American differences and contradictions may well sharpen still further.

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CSO: 4005/6

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED TO CRACK DOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIMES REEMPHASIZED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 82 p 4

[Commentary by Xiao Dong [5618 0392]: "'Tigers' and 'Flies'"]

[Text] The crack down on serious economic criminal activities is a good measure that has great popular appeal. Each time a big case is publicized in the press, people always discuss it in an excited and pleased manner; sometimes they also applaud with delight, saying that this case is being handled well and this "tiger" deserves to be beaten.

In the case of such criminals, the illegal gains of some of them are considerable and those of others are minor, but the damage they render to the state is always great. Among the criminals, some are even cadres in our party and state organs. Thus they not only render serious economic damage to the state but also ruin our party workstyle and civilian customs with very bad political impact. Hence, there is reason for people to commend such handling of a major case in terms of beating a "tiger," for grasping such a case is like grabbing the ox by the nose in such a struggle. This struggle concerns the rise and fall of our party and state, and this handling of major cases and important cases is in turn the key which determines whether or not this struggle can achieve the necessary successes. By vigorously handling them the way we are today, and handling them in a down-to-earth way through to the end, the economic criminal activities and unhealthy practices will all be swept away, the people's confidence in the construction of our socialist modernization will be further enhanced, and their zeal in work will become greater and greater. Therefore, dealing with such major cases and important cases as quickly as possible--i.e., going into the mountains to "beat the tigers"--is a matter of first importance.

After beating the "tigers," do we still need to swat the "flies?" This is something that merits people's thinking. Recently, it has been cloudy and rainy for a long time; in addition, people throw watermelon rinds everywhere and spill hogwash everywhere, and flies have started to multiply under such circumstances; in some locations they fly around in swarms and become rather fierce. If allowed to spread, they are likely to threaten people's health. Compared to the "tigers" in the economic realm, the "flies" may be said to be rather small, but the area to which they spread and their absolute numbers are by no means small, and when these are added together, the havoc they create for the state and the collectives is quite great. Viewed from the way economic crimes have developed,

some big "tigers" have really grown from small "flies." Especially, the pollution they have brought to our social customs and the corrosion they are working on people's souls are very serious. Hence, in order to build an advanced spiritual civilization, we should also have a clear-cut stand and firm attitude toward these "flies" in the economic realm and seek to wipe them thoroughly clean.

What we mean by "elimination" here, of course, is not the physical elimination of people. In serious economic criminal activities, we must carry out a resolute crackdown; this so-called "crackdown" mainly means, except in outrageously offensive cases, sentencing them to imprisonment--for more than 10 years in more serious cases and for a few years in lighter cases. With respect to the "flies," some should also be punished according to the law, while some may not need to be. But in order to learn from past mistakes so as to avoid future ones, we should deal with them according to our party discipline or subject them to solemn criticism and education.

A discussion like the above is meant to suggest merely that as we strategically beat the "tigers," we also must not forget to swat the "flies." But some comrades think that since this struggle is called a crackdown on serious economic criminal activities, at their places there seem to be no serious ones to crack down on; hence they simply take no action and go to sleep. Yet it is precisely these so-called "clearwater offices" that turn out to be the dens sheltering dragons and tigers: there are those who commit corruption and accept bribes; there are those who steal and deceive; there are those who clandestinely sell cultural relics and print counterfeit vouchers; and there are those who filch economic information. And most of them are discovered by public security organs or in their residential alleys and streets, and their own respective units come to know about them only after the criminals are taken to prison. This shows that no conclusion can be made as to whether or not a place has any problems until a full investigation and study are carried out. Even if no "tigers" are present, efforts must be still made to swat the "flies," and these really do exist rather generally. If there really are no "flies," either, then swatting some "mosquitoes" would be fine, too. Today, "mosquitoes" are extremely active in some places, and their harm is by no means secondary to that of the "flies."

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CSO: 4005/33

## PARTY AND STATE

### FUJIAN CELEBRATES CONVOCATION OF PARTY CONGRESS

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Warmly Hail the Triumphant Convocation of the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] With extremely excited feelings, the more than 700,000 communists and vast ranks of the cadres and masses of Fujian Province warmly hail the triumphant convocation of a 12th CPC Congress that is of great historic significance!

In early August, the glad tidings of the decision of the Seventh Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee to convene the 12th Congress on 1 September brought great excitement to the vast ranks of the party members, cadres, and masses of our province. During the past 20-plus days, as we look back at the great changes that have taken place on the province's political, economic, and cultural fronts since the Third Plenary Session, we deeply feel that since the Third Plenary Session, our party has already accomplished the formidable task of returning to order from disorder in its guiding ideology and also has achieved the important victories of returning to order from disorder in the practical undertakings on the various fronts and of realizing a historic major shift. On this basis the 12th Party Congress, by summing up our experiences, is going to enrich and develop the line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session and put forward the strategic targets and various tasks in our economic construction; by means of our new party constitution it is going to propel our party's ideological construction and organizational construction toward a still higher level; it is going to elect a new Central Committee and elect a Central Advisory Committee and the Central Committee for Inspection of Discipline in order to make our party center an even more vigorous command headquarters to lead the people of the country's various nationalities in their earnest struggle to bring about an all-round new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization.

Today, the foremost task that lies before the party members and masses of our province is study. Party organizations at various levels must organize the vast ranks of the party members and cadres and masses to seriously study and extensively propagate the important documents and related resolutions such as the Central Committee report, the CPC Constitution, and the report by the Central Committee for Inspection of Discipline which this congress is going to examine and pass. During such study and propagation, they must keep in close touch with the reality of their own respective localities and units so as to try to understand time and again the fundamental spirit of this congress, as

well as the path for continued advance, the strategic steps, and the principles and policies determined by this congress, and thereby further unify the understanding of the province's vast ranks of party members and masses and welcome the new victories of the cause of our socialist modernization.

The banner of the Communist Party is communism. Ever since the founding of our party, it has taken the realization of communism as our maximum program and goal of struggle. The 12th Party Congress is going to clearly give prominence to communist ideology and indicate once again our determination to hold high the communist banner and struggle on generation after generation until our ultimate victory. Under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Congress, the vast ranks of our party members and cadres must lead the people of the whole province to earnestly struggle, accomplish the various fighting tasks put forward by the 12th Congress, and bring about a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization in Fujian. Fujian is a province that is carrying out special policies and flexible measures; on the one hand, we must insist on the policy of opening up to the outside world and enliven our economy internally, while on the other hand we must remain vigilant toward the influence of external capitalist thinking. And for the purpose of resisting corrosion by capitalist ideology, the most powerful weapon is nothing other than communist ideology. Let us hold high our communist banner and forge triumphantly ahead!

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CSO: 4005/11



## PARTY AND STATE

### TRANSFORMATION OF CADRES NEEDED TO REALIZE AIMS OF COMMUNISM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Ji Bai [2478 4101] "Pioneering and Maintaining"]

[Text] In reading Comrade Hu Yaobang's 20 July speech to middle-aged and young cadres, I feel that the reason his expectations for middle-aged and young cadres were so eager actually has to do with the great question of a country doing pioneer work and then having to maintain what was accomplished in the earlier period.

Regarding this question I shall first quote a passage beginning with the reply to the Tang emperor Tai Zong when he asked his attendants which was more difficult, pioneering government or maintaining it: "Xuan Ling said: 'In the dim beginnings, when you have had to contend with both the masses and the powerful, and then all was subject to you, how difficult is the pioneering of government!' Wei Zheng said: 'From ancient times with regard to emperors and kings there has been none who did not acquire what he had through great difficulties, or who did not lose it through being too much at ease; maintaining what one has acquired is, alas, difficult' The one above [the emperor Tai Zong] said: 'Suan Ling and I took power together, and of 100 who went out into battle, only one returned alive, and so, we know well the difficulties of getting started. Zheng and I keep things under control, but we're often afraid someone among the rich and powerful may try to take things over, or some disaster may happen because of something we have overlooked; therefore, we know the difficulty of maintaining things. In any case, the difficulty of pioneering, at least, is over with; the difficulty of maintaining is what we face with everyone at present.' Isn't what history referred to as the 'government of Zhen Guan' not just words of praise that someone has imposed on history.

Does not similar problem also exist with us at present? I think it does. But the difference is that the pioneering work that we are speaking of is not a repetition of the feudal pioneering work of the emperor's court, but the great change of the socialist system. And the maintaining we are talking about is neither excessive conservatism, nor sticking to conventions, nor being satisfied with the status quo, idly enjoying the fruits of others' labors; it is rather that we must, on the basis of carrying on the enterprise pioneered by the old generation of proletariat revolutionaries, develop our enterprise further. This is by way of fulfilling the ideals which the

generation sought after, i.e., the ideal of Marxism, advancing generation by generation towards the great ideal of communism. The difficulty of pioneering, as everyone clearly knows, has gone through about 30 years of bitter practice, and the amount of sacrifice made in it has been very great. But as for the difficulty of maintaining, from the point of view of being a Marxist, one must be clearly aware of the fact that there will be a long road to realizing the ideal of communism, and it is decidedly not an enterprise that can be completed in only one or two generations; a whole communist echelon will be required to complete it. Before are those who prepare the way; after, are those who carry on, and middle-aged and young cadres are an indispensable link in this echelon formation. We are also traveling a historically unprecedented road, and will necessarily meet with a great many difficulties from within and without, and we will definitely have to pay a price difficult to estimate; therefore, we must also take care to forge the character necessary to meet with and overcome difficulties.

The realization of the four modernizations will be a great step forward towards communism. And whether or not there is any hope for the "four modernizations" will depend on whether or not cadres can undergo their own four changes;" at present, this really is in the nature of a "pressing strategic task." Among the four changes required of cadres, I consider that becoming more knowledgeable and more professional will become more and more important. Because, as far as being more revolutionary is concerned, we have excellent examples to follow, and being more youthful is a matter of the natural course of a person's life, so that there remain only being more knowledgeable and more professional which practically up till now have not been given enough attention; this is the historical cause of the situation that: "In a word, our cadres' level of knowledge is low, their educational level is low, and their professional knowledge is deficient." Moreover, to this day there are many people who disparage knowledge and look down on professionals. Does one not still occasionally hear of cases of the beating up and humiliation of teachers, and of the suppression and envy of those with professional talent? Therefore, along with requiring that cadres bring about the four modernizations, we must also continue to eliminate those obstacles which cannot help the four modernizations.

The older generation of revolutionaries has already made a contribution to overcoming the difficulties of pioneering; as for the difficulties of maintaining, we must see whether middle-aged and young cadres are able to bring about their four transformations, and whether or not they are able, based on the six proposals of Comrade Yaobang, to make strict demands on themselves, and at the same time bear constantly in mind the historical lesson that "Pride and a wish to take over may develop among the wealthy and powerful, and disaster occur due to something we have overlooked." For many years, our party has been undergoing a similar lesson. We should bear it firmly in mind and not commit the same mistake again. If they can be modest and prudent, and guard against arrogance and rashness, then there will be hope for the middle-aged and young cadres, and the people will be able to rely on them.

## PARTY AND STATE

### CENTRAL PARTY SCHOOL TRAINS 17,000 CADRES IN MARXIST DOCTRINE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: Central Committee's Party School in Five Years Trained Over 17,000 Cadres"]

[Text] XINHUA reporter Zou Aiguo reports that the CPC's Central Party School since classes were resumed in 1977 has persevered in implementing the educational program of using the basic principles of Marxism to arm the minds of cadres, and heightening the Marxist-Leninist/Mao Zedong Thought level of the party's higher- and middle-level cadres, and has already trained and rotation-trained 17,883 higher- and middle-level cadres, middle-aged and young cadres, and propaganda/theoretical cadres, thus training 2.6 times as many cadres as the total number trained and rotation-trained during the 18 years prior to the "great cultural revolution."

Based on the Central Committee's decisions, the Central Party School over the past 5 years held, one after the other, seven rotation training classes for higher- and middle-level cadres, five theory classes, and two training classes for young and middle-aged cadres; also, coordinating with organizations directly subordinate to the Central Committee of the CPC, and with central and state organs the People's Liberation Army and the Peking Municipal Committee held three extracurricular rotation training classes. For the great majority of students, having gone through their period of study at the party School, there was progress and improvement, to one degree or another, in all the areas of their having a more complete and accurate grasp of the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism/Mao Zedong Thought, conscientiously implementing the party's lines, programs, and policies and forging them into their party spirit, and the rectifying ideological practices. Along with this large-scale training of cadres, the Central Party School's theoretical work was also unprecedentedly lively, making an important contribution to bringing order out of chaos on the theoretical front.

And important characteristic of the CPC's Central Party School's teaching method is that it requires the students to have a complete and accurate grasp of the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism/Mao Zedong Thought. The Party School, aiming specifically at counteracting the circumstances of Marxism-Leninism/Mao Zedong Thought having been twisted and distorted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," selectively edited and retranslated approximately a million words of the Selected Readings from the Works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong for use as teaching material, and everyone is required to gain a better understanding of the fundamental principles of Marxism.

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CSO: 4005/1282

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEILONGJIANG'S PARTY ORGANIZATIONS RESHUFFLE PARTY COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 82 p 3

[Article: "The Various Levels of Heilongjiang's Party Organizations Hold Elections to Make up for Differences in Organizational Strength"]

[Text] Ever since the Third Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, the various levels of party committee of Heilongjiang Province has persevered in the principles of democratic centralism, made a great effort to strengthen and improve the system of the various levels of party congress, and have universally held elections to make up the required differences in organizational strength. The great majority of party committees throughout the province at the commune level and higher convened one or two party conferences and periodically changed, through election, the membership of the various levels of party committees, enlivening democratic activity within the party and promoting the self-building quality of party organizations.

The great majority of Heilongjiang Province's party organizations at the commune level and above during the course of the party conferences listened to a broad range of criticisms and suggestions, summed up their experience as a basis for instruction, and formulated work plans. These party conferences, in the course of carrying out the elections changing the membership of the party committees, democracy was fully promoted, the candidates were evaluated again and again, and elections were held to make up for the differences in organizational strength. One member of the standing committee of the party committee and Assistant President of Harbin Normal University had used the power of his position for personal gain. The masses took great exception to this, and when the party conference held its election of its party committee members, he lost the election. This not only educated him, but educated other party committee members, and served to strengthen everyone's conscientiousness in serving the people. An Assistant Secretary of the party committee of Yichun Municipality's Fifth District had a very lackadaisical workstyle, and did not do anything about any critical suggestions that were made, and in the past there was nothing the masses could do about him. But when the election to make up for differences in organizational strength was held, it has a very strong effect on him, and he sincerely made a self-critical examination of his shortcomings before the party conference. There were some county committee members who in the past had not been able to deal correctly with their own ideological practices and shortcomings; at the party conferences they listened to the representatives' criticisms, and also saw some candidates lose

the elections, so that they were instructed by this, and gradually understood that they should make their responsibility to the broad masses of party members consistent with their responsibility to higher-level party committees, and actively take the initiative in correcting their own shortcomings. Through this kind of democratic election, the membership of the party committees' leading bodies was improved, the average age was lowered, and the educational level and level of ideological awareness were raised. According to statistics representing the 41 communes in the three counties of Hailin, Ningan, and Muleng, the number of members of two levels of party committee elected was reduced by 57 compared with last time, the average age was lowered by 2.7 years, and the number possessing middle-school or higher education increased 10 percent over the last [conference's elections]. The party committee members and party secretaries of the majority of factory and mine enterprises of the municipalities of Jiamusi and Mudanjiang will no longer serve concurrently as head of their enterprise, reducing the amount of overlapping posts, and putting into effect the principle of separating party from government.

The party committees of the six counties and municipalities of Heihe Prefecture last year held an average of 28 party conferences, of which 70 percent dealt with studying ways to improve the work of bringing about a better connection between the party and the masses, solving in a timely way a number of inner-party problems, and bringing into play the core-leadership effect of the party committees.

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CSO: 4005/1282

## PARTY AND STATE

### CONFERENCE URGES STRONGER ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL JUSTICE IN SHANDONG

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "Strengthen the Administration of Civil Justice to Serve the Construction of the Four Modernizations, the Fourth Province Wide Work Conference On Civil Justice Convenes in Jinan"]

[Text] The Fourth Province Wide Work Conference on Civil Justice convened in Jinan from 31 July to 7 August. The conference relayed the spirit of the third Nationwide Conference on the Administration of Civil Justice, combined with conditions in our province, discussed and planned future tasks in the administration of civil justice. Director Liang Deshan [2733 1795 1472] of the Provincial Higher People's Court spoke at the conference.

Ever since the spirit of the Second Nationwide Conference on the Administration of Civil Justice has been implemented, people's courts at all levels in our province have adhered to the Four Basic Principles and have earnestly carried out the lines, principles and policies put forward by the party Central Committee since its third plenary session. As a result a new situation has appeared. According to statistics, from 1979 to the end of June this year people's courts at all levels have tried and closed a total of over 84,000 civil cases of first instance at a rate of 96.5 percent and over 5,000 cases of appeal and retrial at a rate of 94.9 percent. At the same time it relied on and guided grassroots mediation organizations to mediate and handle a large number of civil disputes.

The conference pointed out that that (Trial) Civil Procedural Law is the summary of a long period of judicial practice and experience which reflects the new character and new demands of the administration of civil justice in the new historical period. The promulgation and trial use of the Civil Procedural Law is a major event in the construction of the legal system in our country. It is also a sign of the activities of civil justice entering the new stage of handling cases strictly in accordance with litigation procedures. The conference demanded that people's courts at all levels further study, popularize and implement the "(Trial) Civil Procedural Law," formulate concrete trial implementation procedures according to actual local conditions, stress mediation work in litigation during its trial implementation, and rectify discipline in civil justice.

The conference stressed that in hearing civil cases the people's courts must correctly implement the marriage law and various policies and laws. With divorce cases, they must correctly implement the provisions of the marriage law and adhere to the principle that approval is dependent on whether the marriage between the husband and wife has in fact broken up. To find out whether a marriage has broken up, the people's courts must examine the foundation of the marriage, the affection between spouses after their marriage, the reason for divorce, the responsibility for the cause of dispute, current relationship between the spouses, consideration for the interests of the children, and effects on the society. For all cases in which the marriage has in fact broken up and mediation has been ineffective, a divorce should be granted. For cases in which the marriage has not broken up there should be mediation or no approval for a divorce. For divorce cases caused by love for the new and distaste for the old, deliberate creation of divorce dispute, or which involve a third party, facts must be investigated, right and wrong must be distinguished, and the party in the wrong must be given strict and critical education. Civil cases arising from the implementation of the production responsibility system in the countryside must be handled with the interests of the state, collective and individual in mind by seeking truth from facts and following the law.

The conference demanded that leading comrades of the people's courts at all levels must understand fully the significance and the role of administration of civil justice in the daily life of society; truly put administration of civil justice in its proper place; continuously strengthen the building of the ideology, work style, organization, and profession of the contingents in the administration of civil justice and at the same time strengthen judicial supervision and enhance the quality of trials. The broad masses of judicial cadres must strengthen their sense of pride and responsibility in doing their best in administering civil justice, enforce the law impartially, work diligently, and strive to further do a good job in administering civil justice in our province.

9586

CSO: 4005/1249

## PARTY AND STATE

### SUPERIORITY OF COMMUNIST IDEAL STRESSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 82 p 4

[Commentary by Yi Mu [0076 2606]: "Our Ideal--Communism"]

[Text] Recently, our party and state leaders as well as propaganda in the press time and again stress that we must strive to be socialist builders with ideals, dedication to morality, discipline, and culture; this is a very important matter. We think the key here is to have ideals.

A man's conduct is governed by his ideals. Whatever ideals a man has in his social practice, that is the conduct he will exhibit. In ancient times, some people were utterly ambitious, wishing to "be conferred with the title after death"; when they would see the entourage of a ruler on an inspection trip with banners flying, honor guard standing at attention, weapons on display, and retainers swarming around him, they would sigh with emotion: "A real man should indeed be like this!" Or, "He can be replaced." Thus, throughout their lives they would tire themselves out by seeking to take over the government or to become a marquis or prime minister. Some hoped to become "gentlemen" and prided themselves on being "above worldly considerations": "Speak only of benevolence and justice; why anything about profit at all?!" Or, "When endowed with carriages and horses for transport and light furs for clothing, let me share with friends, and I shall cover them without regret." Some held a nihilist attitude toward everything in the world, wishing to do nothing about anything and advocating "abandonment of weapons and retreat from this world," "unthinking" and "inaction." The capitalist society developed the existing concepts of private ownership to their extreme, so that if a man failed to work for himself, heaven and earth would destroy him; "he would not sacrifice a single hair even if it should benefit the whole world"; or he would strive to be a wise man and play safe: "Every man simply sweeps away the snow in front of his own door but pays no attention to the frost on other people's roofs"; or one's heart is steeped in a desire for gain, banking on getting rich, jockeying for advantage, intriguing against each other, making profits at other people's expense, swallowing small fish as a big fish should, or, for the sake of getting rich, simply making risky moves. All this is now renounced by us and despised by us.

We communists believe in communism; that is to say, we take the realization of communism as our ideal. The emergence of private ownership was a step forward in history, but it is also the root cause of all evil. The slave society, feudal



society, and capitalist society based on private ownership that lasted for several thousand years made man suffer infinite pains. Historical experiences prove that only by eliminating these kinds of societies based on private ownership can man speak of real happiness, genuine freedom, and liberation. In his "Principles of Communism," Engels said: "Communists post the elimination of private ownership as their own principal demand." For over 100 years, countless determined and kindhearted men have subjected themselves to stoic life and hard struggle for the realization of this goal, and this goal has already come to be realized in this world step by step. Viewed from the countries that have overthrown capitalism and practiced socialism (such as our country and certain brotherly countries), they have proved that socialism (that is, the preliminary stage of communism) is superior to capitalism by no one knows how many times. Practice will further prove that, as time goes on, as history develops, and as experiences accumulate, the socialist system will become more and more perfect; it will bring more and more happiness to the people.

Communism is infinitely fine. Yet there was a time when people avoided talking about communism and avoided or opposed talking about the superiority of socialism, let alone taking communism as our ideal. Without this communist ideal, we would be unable to build our socialist spiritual civilization, we would be unable to resist erosion by the rotten ideology and lifestyle of the bourgeoisie, and devious and unhealthy practices would then prevail far and wide. Then, naturally, no one would take any action to build socialism. When a man lacks ambition, no one knows what he will do. Just as in walking: with no destination, and walking erratically, who knows where he will end up? Therefore, reinforcing our education in communist ideology and establishing the communist ideal constitute a necessity for reviving China and a necessity for building our socialist four modernizations. When a man becomes listless, if it is not because he is biologically ill but because he has problems with his thinking, he needs ever more to solve his ideological problems in order to collect his spirit. And even if he has biological troubles, it is also of great importance that his spiritual state overcome his illness. Carrying out propaganda and education in communism can have a spirit-uplifting effect. A man cannot be without his "spirit"; when his "spirit is not retained in his body," he is liable to become muddleheaded in his work. We are today in an era of a historic shift; we must never become muddleheaded.

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CSO: 4005/33

## PARTY AND STATE

### IDEAL COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY, PRACTICE DISCUSSED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Aug 82 p 1

[Commentary by Qi Xingzhi [7871 5887 0037]: "A Superficial Discussion on Communist Ideology and Practice--Ideal and 'Practical Benefits'"]

[Text] When acquaintances and friends get together and talk about the need to establish the farsighted ideal of communism, someone will often say: "That is too empty! It's still more practical to get more rewards and get promoted to a higher level of wage earnings...." In real life, there are indeed those who believe only in the so-called "theory of practical benefits" and shove aside what they once embraced as an ideal which happens now to be aside what they once embraced as an ideal which happens now to be "too empty."

Is it all right to take the communist ideal as being "empty?" No, it is not all right. "An ideal is a lantern lighting the way; without an ideal, there can be no firm direction, and without a firm direction, there can be no life" (Leo Tolstoy's words). Different classes have different ideals and different beliefs; these are the spiritual pillars on which people depend for carrying their life and their work forward. Comrade Mao Zedong once said a man has to have a spirit. The communist ideal is none other than the strong spiritual pillar and momentum for forward movement for us proletarians, communists, and revolutionary fighters; this is totally true and totally real.

The realization of communism and the establishment of the communist system really make up a very long process and can be accomplished only by several generations of talented people. But efforts to practice communist ideology and develop the communist movement have been made ever since a communist group appeared on the soil of China. The 61 years of the history of the CPC are the history of nothing other than its effort, under the guidance and encouragement of communist ideology, to smash the old world and create the new world. Is this not a totally genuine reality?

During the period of revolutionary struggle, was it not the communist ideal which hundreds and thousands of communists, revolutionary fighters, embraced while they advanced in the wake of the fall of others ahead, heroically struggled, bled and sacrificed, and ultimately won the world for the people?

During the periods of socialist revolution and construction, was it not the communist ideal that our communists, CYL members, revolutionary cadres, and

millions of people embraced while they proceeded to reform society, wash away the dirty mud and water left by the old era, and create the new system and new life of socialism? Was it not the communist ideal they embraced while they drafted the new blueprint for changing the world and turning poverty into wealth? Was it not the communist ideal they embraced while they proceeded to overcome the enemies hostile to socialist new China? Was it not the communist ideal they embraced while they proceeded to overcome serious natural calamities? Was it not the communist ideal they embraced as they sought to resist and ultimately smash Lin Biao and the "gang of four?"

All this and the road we personally traversed--were they not instances of practicing the communist ideal? Were they not totally real?

Of course, the struggle we have carried out for the realization of the communist ideal has secured only preliminary fruits; the life of our people has generally improved, but it still cannot be said to be well-to-do. And while we have had victories and successes, we have also suffered setbacks and failures. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, it was precisely because our party was able to sum up the experiences and lessons of the past and accomplished the return to order from disorder, as well as a historical shift, that the communist movement on the soil of China could continue to develop forward triumphantly along a healthy road, and the vast ranks of the party members and millions of the people could confidently proceed with the construction of our four modernizations. All this, too, has been vivid reality witnessed by all and talked about by all.

Taking the communist ideal as "empty" is a reflection of the "distant and vague theory." Among comrades with such a view, some may have a problem with their perception, as they have understood communism merely as a social system without taking it first of all as a kind of movement. In the case of others, it may be that they have become shaky in their convictions. In the early days, they too struggled excitedly for communism, but when they saw twists and turns appearing in the communist movement, their convictions became shaky and their fighting will became lax. Some fell into the trap of individualism, indulged in material enjoyment at the present, exerted zeal for what is called "the higher the wages, the better; the more the rewards, the better; the more spacious the housing, the better, the higher the office, the better; and the lighter to work, the better." They shoved aside their once-farsighted ideal into oblivion. They might perhaps really scoop up some "practical benefits" for themselves individually, but their spirit is bound to become more and more empty, and they might even lose their original spiritual pillar and be led astray. I hope these comrades think a little about this question. As communists, our goal is to achieve the greatest happiness and the greatest practical benefits for the whole people, and we must never think of obtaining our personal "practical benefits" apart from communist ideology.

Every communist, cadre, and staff member must endeavor to keep his thinking from drifting away from the ideological system of communism. Let us sing aloud the stimulating battle song "The Internationale Is Bound To Be Realized," and let us fight, let us create, and let us welcome the triumphant convocation of the 12th Party Congress with an assertive communist spirit.

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANDONG FORUM HELD ON RECTIFYING PARTY'S GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATION

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Zu Jian [4371 0256]: "Put Ideological Education In the Lead, Do Our Best To Rectify and Build the Leading Group; Province wide Work Forum On Rectification of the Party's Grassroots Organization Sums Up and Exchanges Experiences"]

[Text] The province wide work forum on rectifying the party's grassroots organization was convened in Jinan during 13-18 August. The forum relayed and implemented the spirit of the work forum on rectifying the party's grassroots organization convened by the party Central Committee's Organization Department. It summed up and exchanged experiences of the former phase of experimental work of rectification in our province; discussed and studied the problems concerning doing our best to rectify the party's grassroots organization in our province.

Those who attended included comrades in charge of organization departments of party committees of all localities, municipalities and major enterprises, and comrades in charge of concerned party committees and political work departments directly subordinated to the province and of party committees of some counties. Secretary Gao Qiyun [7559 0796 0061] of the provincial party committee spoke at the forum.

The forum pointed out that in order to rectify the party's grassroots organization, we must build closely around a high degree of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization; use as basic teaching material the documents of the 12th party congress soon to be convened; combine study of the "Historical Resolution," "Guiding Principles," and other related documents; systematically educate party members on party spirit, work style and discipline; do our best to rectify and build the leading group for the party's grassroots organization and struggle to mobilize the whole party to realize the various tasks put forward by the 12th party congress.

The forum demanded that in the work to rectify the party's grassroots organization we must let ideological education play the major role and become more involved in educating party members on communist ideals, the party's lines, principles and policies, the opposition against corrosive bourgeois ideology, and the basic knowledge of the party, essentially enhancing the party spirit, party consciousness and political quality of party members. On this basis, we should organize

party members to measure themselves by the standards of a party member, launch the activities of summing up past experiences, comparison and examination, criticism and self-criticism, and do our best to evaluate party members. We must vigorously give recognition to outstanding party members, and as to party members who have shortcomings and make mistakes we must patiently help to educate them and enable them to strive to become qualified members.

The forum stressed that we must treat our effort to rectify and build the leading group for the grassroots party committees, general branches and branches as a key issue; conscientiously resolve existing problems in carrying out the party's lines, unifying the leading group and correcting party work style; overcome the state of slackness and feebleness; and increase the fighting strength of the party organization. In accordance with the demands to make the party more revolutionized, rejuvenated, knowledgeable and specialized, we must do our best to reselect or rectify the leading group. We must substantiate the leading group with cadres who support the party lines, who are knowledgeable, vigorous and in the prime of life, and who can initiate new situations. We must resolutely remove from the leading group those people who have gained their status by following Lin Biao and Jiang Qing in "rebellion" people with serious factional mentality, smash-and-grabbers, and those who have in recent years caused serious political damage to the standards in party life and have seriously violated law and discipline in the economy. For those who have lost the qualifications of a party member, we must cancel their membership. For party members who take part in smuggling and the sale of contraband, accept bribes and resort to robbery, engage in speculation and profiteering, after their problems are understood, we must handle them by seeking truth from facts. For those who have been pessimistic and backward for a long time and have not played the role of party members who repeatedly fail to correct themselves, we should persuade them to withdraw from the party or remove their names.

The forum pointed out that rectification of the party's grassroots organization is a major matter that concerns building the party in power, and that party committees at all levels must strongly emphasize it, place it on an important agenda, and conscientiously strengthen the leadership. All parts of the province must become more involved in investigating and analyzing the conditions of the party's grassroots organization, formulate a practical and realistic rectification plan, use the experience of selected units to promote work in the entire area, and gradually expand it. Rectification of the party's grassroots organization in industry and communications, finance and trade should be carried out in combination with other rectification tasks of enterprises, while among rural commune teams it should be closely combined with the task of summing up and perfecting the responsibility system in agricultural production so that the task of rectifying the party's grassroots organization will become the motivating force behind all tasks.

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CSO: 4005/1318

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANDONG PEASANTS SUPPORT DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jun 82 p 1

[Article "The Standing Committee of the Shandong Provincial People's Congress Invites Model Agricultural Workers and Representatives of advanced Units to Hold a Forum, Draft Revised Constitution Speaks To the Heart of the Broad Masses of Peasants"]

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress invited model workers on the agricultural front and representatives of advanced units in Jinan to hold a forum on 28-30 May earnestly to study and discuss the draft revised constitution.

In the forum, everyone unanimously believed that the announcement of the draft revised constitution and handing it over to all the people to discuss is itself a concrete expression that the people make the decisions and the people manage the major matters of state. Every section and article of the draft revised constitution reflects our country's actual conditions, represents the interests of the people of all nationalities, and speaks the heart of everyone.

In the forum, many comrades joined with reality and spoke of the party's regulations and state laws being downgraded at the time when the "gang of four" ran rampant. At that time policies underwent repeated changes, if not criticizing "bourgeois tendency" it was "sever the tail of capitalism," so that the peasants did not know what was best to follow. Since the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee the party's rural economic policy has been entirely in accord with the interests of the peasants, but quite a few grassroots cadres and commune members remained anxious. The present draft revised constitution explicitly states the two systems of ownership in our socialist economic system, namely, the system of ownership by all the people and the collective system of ownership by the laboring masses; stipulates the three economic forms, of all the people, the collective, and the individual; and encourages peasants to do their best to run their private plots, private hills, household sideline production, and in raising privately-owned live-stocks. These stipulations are affirmed in the constitution which therefore provides the broad masses of grassroots cadres and commune members strong backing, clarifying the direction, removing their anxiety and increasing their trust in the party's policies.

In the forum, everyone believed that the draft revised constitution explicitly states the four adherences which are in accord with our people's basic interests and demands. Adherence to the Four Basic Principles is the summary of the basic experience of our modern history and the truth which underwent the test of practice. It is the basic safeguard for our building a strong and modern socialist state.

Everyone at the forum expressed firm support of the separation of politics and the commune and the setting up of rural government. This would strengthen the building of political authority and give full play to the role of economic management of the people's commune.

In the forum, everyone freely aired his own views and gave some opinions on revising the draft constitution. They said: Taking part in the discussion of the draft revised constitution is both exercising the right of the people as masters of their own house and a good practice in studying socialist democracy and socialist legal system by the people. We must take the lead to do our best to study, discuss and popularize it so that everyone and every household will know and understand the basic spirit and substance of the draft constitution.

Deputy directors of the standing committee of the Provincial People's Congress Zhang Zhusheng [1728 4554 3932] and Yang Jieren [2799 0094 0086] presided over the forum.

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CSO: 4005/1318

## PARTY AND STATE

### MODEL PARTY MEMBER'S INTEGRITY AT WORK CITED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Wang Jinming [3769 6855 2494]: "Unsoiled by a Speck of Dust--The Deeds of Model Driver Lu Suhai [0712 4790 3189]"]

[Text] On the communications and transportation front in Jinan Municipality there is an outstanding driver who has been praised for resisting corrosion and for being never contaminated. He is Lu Suhai, a model worker of the communications system in the province and a model Communist Party member in the municipality.

Lu Suhai is a driver of an automotive team of the Lixia Prefectural Transportation Corporation in Jinan Municipality. For 11 years as a driver, he has always made severe demands on himself according to the standards of a Communist Party member and consciously resisted unhealthy trends. One day last August, the construction project of the Jinan Agricultural Exhibition Hall had an urgent need for bricks. Because the worksite was narrow and it was rather difficult for vehicles to come in and out of it, the cargo owner offered a 2-yuan "turn-around fee" for every trip made. After taking up the task, Lu not only did not take the "turn-around fee" but completed the task with a guarantee of both quality and quantity, and was praised by the cargo owner. Once, Lu transported timber for a unit in Jiyang County. While loading, the cargo owner quietly told him: "I have prepared a few plants for you. On your way, turn around and take them home to make some furniture!" Lu said with sincerity: "I do not want the planks. I am here to transport wood, not to take it!" After he loaded the cargo he drove away. On another occasion Lu transported cement for a commune in Licheng County. It was past 8 o'clock in the evening before work was finished. A leading comrade of this commune insisted that Lu take two small baskets of apples. Lu said with sincere words and earnest wishes: "Although this sort of things is popular I do not go in for it. Do not do this from now on!" When he was leaving, this leading cadre held Lu's hands tightly and said: "Thank you! You are truly a fine example. I will learn from you."

Lu Suhai often says: "It was the party and the people who fostered me to become a driver. My steering wheel can only contribute to the party and the people and it cannot be used to make personal gain for myself." Last September, Lu's mother died of illness. The leader was concerned and specially sent a



motor vehicle to help with the funeral. After the funeral, Lu paid the corporation 18 yuan for the use of the vehicle. At first the leader did not agree with this but at Lu's persistent plea the money was accepted. Once, one of Lu's nephews pleaded that he help him haul bricks to renovate his house. Lu said to him patiently: "The vehicle belongs to the state and it is not ours. I cannot use a state vehicle to haul private material." He convinced the nephew to go through the formality of consignment for shipment at the corporation before the bricks could be hauled for him.

9586

CSO: 4005/1249

## PARTY AND STATE

### STATUTORY PRINCIPLES OF POLICYMAKING EXPLAINED

Tianjin KEXUEXUE YU KEXUE JISHU GUANLI [SCIENCE AND THE MANAGEMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY] in Chinese No 6, 1981 pp 34-36

[Article by Yu Desheng [0060 1779 0524], Political and Research Office, Chinese Academy of Sciences: "The Four Statutory Principles of Policymaking"]

[Text] The scientific method of policymaking is a deciding factor in elevating the level of management at various levels of the state and society. In the course of policymaking, there are four statutory principles which we must abide by scrupulously.

1. To have power. A policymaking organ must have the legal power to make decisions on issues it is confronted with.

It is necessary to have a correct understanding of the nature of power. Power has its structure: First of all, according to different spheres of action, power is divided into different levels and domains. In a nation, only the people as a whole enjoy complete and inseparable power. The direct expression of the people's will should be the supreme decision of a nation. In some countries, it is stipulated by law that under certain circumstances, a general referendum may be held on vital problems which concern the destiny of a nation. (For instance, after the war, France held general referendum on several occasions on the issue of the country's system of government; Norway held a general referendum on the issue of joining the European Community.) However, despite its authoritativeness, a general referendum is, after all, only a temporary measure and not a permanent structure. Although it makes vital decisions, it does not exercise constantly the function of policymaking as the supreme power organ of a state. The most important policymaking organ of a state is a representative organ elected by the people according to law (such as China's National People's Congress) and its standing body. It will decide the state budget, the state plans for development, and the important issues of war and peace. As far as the state functions of management are concerned, the government is the supreme policymaking organ which makes decisions within the scope of the law on problems in the course of its performance.

Under the government, the management organs at various levels and in various departments have their own separate spheres of management according to the

nature of their work, such as provinces, counties and districts, as well as industry, agriculture, finance and trade, forestries, scientific research and education.

In these spheres, the leading organs at various levels each have their relevant functions and powers.

Next, at the same level and in the same department, power is also divided in nature; or, we may say that there are several centers of power of different nature. In the past, the great French free thinker Montesquieu propounded the theory of the division of power against the unlimited power of the absolute monarchy at that time. Since then there has developed a tripower system with separate legislature, judiciary and executive; this has become an important milestone in the development of the theory of state power, and it also has become the principle of organization of capitalist countries. There is no doubt that this theory has something to recommend it. Its merit lies in the division and restriction of various powers. Under the prerequisite of centralizing major powers in the supreme power organ comprised of the delegates of the people, the socialist countries have also adopted certain rational parts of the system of the division of power. In China, regarding both state power and economic and scientific organizations, many things have yet to be improved and reformed. In addition to having the powers of legislature, judiciary and executive divided, the supervisory and academic organizations (or technological and economic advisory organs) should be given independent power outside the executive so that the chances will be greatly reduced for decisionmaking organs at various levels and in various departments to commit mistakes in policymaking. And when mistakes occur, particularly when wrong decisions are made beyond one's authority, they will be uncovered and rectified more easily. In the present social conditions, having full power without any supervision will do all kinds of harm but no good. Excessive concentration of power with no restriction very easily gives rise to mistakes. To rectify these mistakes, it is always necessary to seek forces outside the system. This will naturally bring about the collapse of the legal system and social chaos. This is also one of the causes of so many years of disturbance in our society. This kind of power structure, which cannot regulate itself and adapt itself to the circumstances, can never be an ideal system.

We must also recognize that all powers should stem from the laws which confer them. In one case, the legislative organs stipulate directly by means of laws the scope of functions and powers of organizations and public personnel of various levels, and the powers of the subordinate organs are mostly derived from these organs. In another case, the powers are stipulated in the rules and regulations of various bodies (most of them are leading organs of such organizations and academic organs), such as the cooperatives, societies and associations of various descriptions, and even the academy of sciences. Although the powers of these organs are not stipulated directly by law, the general legal status of their nature is still provided for by law, in spite of the fact that they are not stipulated as specifically and directly as in the former case. Moreover, their rules and regulations are also approved by law. In this sense, their powers also come from the law.

There's no denying that the legislation of our country is extremely imperfect, so that many centers of power have taken shape de facto, but with no legal basis, and some stipulations in the law could not be carried out in practice. There are also a great many issues which must have immediate answers, as there is no provision for them in the law. For instance, there are a large number of scientific organs, but there is not a single corresponding law (such as general regulations for organizations of scientific research and planning in foreign countries). Even for the academy of sciences, there is not a single corresponding law to stipulate its nature, task and legal status. Other laws still remain to be enacted, such as the laws on state-run enterprises, corporations, mass organizations and so forth. These gaps in the law have created gaps in power and created confusion of power among various organs at various levels. On the one hand, these organs find themselves powerless; and on the other, it often happens that a person exceeds his power in dealing with a case. To prevent any person from exceeding his power in policymaking, it is necessary first to perfect the legislation, and in particular to stipulate the organizational laws, rules and regulations on the duties and powers of leading organs and responsible persons of various levels.

The meaning of policymaking without exceeding one's power is twofold: one is to consider whether or not one has the power to make decisions according to the level, rank and domain of one's office; and the other is to judge whether or not one has the power to make decisions from the standpoint of the division of power in the horizontal power structure. Obviously, a certain enterprise or school should not make decisions on matters concerning the whole situation of a certain administrative area; in other words, the office of forestry should not deal with matters concerning aquatic products. The executive and administrative offices of various levels should also never make decisions in judicial and academic matters; and on the other hand, the procuratorial organs should not make administrative decisions. It is a pity that such absurd cases have also occurred frequently.

To make policy on problems which one has the power to decide, it is necessary to act within one's jurisdiction. This is the first statutory principle of policymaking.

2. To follow regulations. This means that the act of policymaking should be carried out according to legal procedure.

Judged from a certain angle, that is, from how directly they aim at the questions, laws may be divided into two categories: the law of entity and the law of procedure. The former answers directly such questions as what is right, what is wrong, what should be done, and what should not be done, like our criminal law, environmental law and so forth. The latter gives no answers to such questions but only points out the kind of procedures and formalities by which these questions are to be solved, like the criminal procedural law, the organizational laws of various organs of political power and mass organizations, and articles concerning procedure in the regulations of the scientific organizations. The importance of the question of procedure lies in the fact that although it does not touch directly the substance of the question, it does provide the solution of substantive questions with rational

procedures and methods which must be followed, and thus guarantees the correct solution of these questions. Therefore, the legality of procedure is a necessary condition for the substantive legality of any policy (not to mention whether or not it is correct). Policies which are made in violation of the laws of procedure cannot be considered legal and valid. It has been borne out time and again in the past that mistakes of procedure more often than not concealed or led to mistakes in substance. Fundamentally, the policy which started the "Great Cultural Revolution" and a series of policies derived therefrom were all wrong and violated the basic spirit of our country's constitution and the party constitution as well as various substantive rules and regulations. However, the fact that these policies could have been adopted was partly because the laws of procedure were also sabotaged, and problems were not handled in accordance with the procedures laid down in the laws and regulations. It was the same in the fields of economy, science and technology. Some major construction projects which were undertaken blindly a few years ago were also decided under conditions in violation of procedural rules for capital construction. (For example, construction and planning were fixed without geological survey and economic adjustment data, projects relying on certain resources were completed before the whereabouts of these resources was known, and so forth.) Violations and mistakes of procedure reflected violations and mistakes in substance. In many countries, it is stipulated by law that not only must all decisions on major issues be validated according to the rules, such as they must be passed by the majority or approved by the higher authorities, but also these decisions must be made by going through a certain process in advance, such as all plans should undergo careful verification and be discussed and passed by academic or technical and economic committees, including those of conferring academic titles and offering research courses. The essential prerequisite for administrative approval is the recommendation of academic committees. When decisions are made by committees of organizations, there must be a quorum at the discussion and the legal majority must agree. The purpose of all this is, by following strictly the procedure, to ensure the correctness of decisions in substance, or at least to enhance the probability of their correctness.

Decisions which are made against procedural laws should be considered illegal and have no legal effect in substance. In the past, there was a practice of admitting that "there were defects in ways and means" and "the formalities were not observed"...but, at the same time, maintaining its legal validity; this is very harmful, and the practice itself is also illegal. In our country the concept of the law is very vague, and often violations of the law (especially laws other than criminal law) do not cause any concern. As to the violation of procedural laws, this is even more often considered a matter of no importance and not worth mentioning. Therefore, our legal system is trampled underfoot, and man is above the law. Such phenomena as taking someone's word as the law by treating personal "approval" and "appointment" as above the legal procedure are fairly common. The fact that some construction projects were undertaken hastily, which caused great damage and loss, was very largely related to the violation of procedural laws in policymaking. Efforts must be made to correct this.

To call for legality in procedure, the prerequisite is that there must be laws of procedure. At present, in the domain of the political life of our country, although procedural legislation falls far short of our requirements, after all it has somewhat taken shape, while, in comparison, in the economic, cultural and scientific domains wherein many policies should be made for social administration, the procedural legislation or procedures approved and protected by law are very few. In recent years, China and foreign countries have taken policymaking as a branch of the science of management, as a specialized study, carried out a great deal of work, and published many theories and studies. It is an important task of legislative work to elevate the results of these studies to the level of procedural laws, or to let the legislators formulate legal procedures of policymaking by summing up and incorporating these results.

The process of policymaking must follow the legal procedure. This is the second statutory principle of policymaking.

3. To accord with the law. This means that the result of the policymaking process must be in accord with the existing laws and must not go against the laws in word or in spirit.

The various policymaking organs have their different legal statutes, and the relationship between the results of their policymaking and the laws is also not the same. In general, there are the following areas: If a policymaking body is a legislative organ, then any policy it makes is a new statute which has supreme legal effect to restrain not only itself but also various other organs and even individual citizens in a certain place or throughout the country. However, here are two conditions: First, such a policy made (in the expression of a law) should never go against the national policy and the nation's basic principles as expressed in the constitution, and also it should not go against the result of a referendum; otherwise, it is also illegal and therefore ineffective. Second, a policy expressed as a new law should not go against a corresponding law made previously. If the policymaking organ considers the old law no longer appropriate, then the organ should declare explicitly in a legal way that it is abolished totally or in part; otherwise, there will be a conflict in law, which will cause many difficulties to the executive and judicial departments, and may even create social disorder.

Even if an organ is fairly authoritative, it will run into difficulties by ignoring the legality of its own decisions. For instance, not very long ago a state legislative organ in the United States passed a law prohibiting "idlers" from loitering at railway stations in order to maintain the public order. However, the court declared that it was unconstitutional. Consequently, the law was rescinded because it violated the U.S. Constitution. In our country, too, I cannot say that there are no policies made by organs at various levels that violate the constitution and the laws. It is very necessary to intensify the work of control and supervision so as to raise the statutory level of policymaking.

In most cases, the policymaking bodies are those of administration and implementation. Of course, the policies they have made cannot be considered new laws. These policies can only be concerned with certain subjective

actions within the scope of existing laws, within the scope permitted by existing laws, or concrete measures for carrying out the commitments and duties stipulated by existing laws. They are policies for the bodies concerned, not policies at the state legislative level; they are only administrative policies for implementation at the level of the bodies concerned or below. It should be pointed out also that in the course of making policies, not only should we give consideration to keeping the result of policymaking in line with domestic laws, but also, whenever foreign countries are involved in the issues, we should take into account the laws of the foreign countries and international law. There have been not a few instances wherein people made policies by acting only on their subjective desire and assumptions, violated laws, and suffered loss and damage. For instance, our foreign trade departments failed to give consideration to the patent laws of the target countries for our exports, so they were sued for infringing the patent rights of third-country manufacturers and were compelled to pay damages. For another instance, for the export of toy animals, although in the contract there was no provision regarding the requirements of physical technology, the other contracting country had laws stipulating that toy accessories (such as eyes, tails and so forth) must withstand so many pounds of pulling force without falling off and so many degrees of high temperature without burning before the toys could be sold. However, our commodity was not up to the legal requirement and incurred loss and damage. The export shipments of food were destroyed by fire because of our ignorance of the rules and regulations for health protection. There have also been many cases of the failure of enterprises operated jointly with foreign merchants because the export of such technology was under the control of law.

Therefore, to accord with law in policymaking, it is necessary to conform to domestic laws, international law and the laws of the countries concerned. This is the third statutory principle of policymaking.

4. Standardization. This means that the result of the process of policymaking must be formalized according to certain legal requirements.

The result of policymaking, whether the issue involved is small or big, always has a certain social significance and, to a certain extent, simultaneously also gains its statutory significance to become an incident of legal nature. Due to the fact that the policymaking organs have varying status in law and that the issues they deal with are of varying significance (which also are often in line with their designation and status), the results of policymaking likewise have varying legal status. For instance, the state organs of power should formalize their policies into laws. (There is also a distinction between specific laws, such as regulations and codes, which are comprehensive laws regulating relationships of a certain category, or amnesty decrees and decisions to set up special courts, which are separate laws for the task of solving certain specific problems.) The decisions of the government and its subordinate departments, which may be either comprehensive or specific, are called by different names according to their different tasks, such as "decisions," "orders," "regulations," "instructions," and so forth. The latter are all in the nature of government decrees or orders, and are subordinate to the former in legal effect.

All leading organs of various levels have their own series of policies for different problems. Although these policies are very different on the level of legal effect or in area of effect, they all have a certain legal character and constitute a certain standard or a standard system. Most of the policies are formalized into documents, they must conform to requirements of legal standards, such as: they must be definite in form, stable in duration of time, and mandatory in effect (that is, they are equally effective on the subject and object concerned), and they must be promulgated (that is, the parties concerned must be notified in a proper way for enforcement).

As all policies concern legal standards, they must have the necessary standard elements: assumption, handling and punishment. In "assumption," it is necessary to point out under what circumstances this standard is applicable. In "handling," it is necessary to point out the obligations of the parties concerned under these circumstances. For "punishment," it is necessary to stipulate the responsibilities of the parties concerned in case they fail to fulfill their obligations. (In a broader sense, it should also include encouragement and reward to those who have performed well.) It should be pointed out that a legal standard system as a whole is a system by itself, which should be comprehensive and closed. However, though a policy is expressed as a certain standard or a standard system, it is only a branch of the whole legal system, and in this sense may be open and not comprehensive. For instance, a certain policy states only that under certain circumstances the parties concerned should do certain things, but it does not stipulate any punishment for their failure to do so. It seems that there are only the assumption and handling, but no punishment. As a matter of fact, punishment is included in other legal documents (such as the regulations regarding rewards and penalties). When this branch system is geared to the greater system, its legal standard becomes comprehensive and forms a closed system. It is a pity that at present many of our legal decisions are always open, and there is no system they can be geared to. Therefore, finally, there is no way for them to form comprehensive and closed systems. For instance, such remarks as "according to law," "on the basis of the policy" and so forth are frequently mentioned in the documents; however, there is no such "specific" law to provide this reference with the legal basis, and there is no way to find the "policy" which fundamentally is not and cannot be pointed out here. The punishment of those who have not fulfilled their obligations (such as refusing to carry out certain measures) is also frequently mere verbal intimidation: "to be dealt with according to law" and so forth. But there is no corresponding law which the case can be geared to, and no specific penalty is stated to provide a real basis for this reference "according to law." Therefore, to standardize all policies (also one of the aspects of a scientific approach), it is necessary to further improve our legal system. We must study and scrutinize all laws as a complete system; we must make the laws dovetail and work in concert with each other.

All policy documents must be in standard legal form. This is the fourth requirement of policymaking.

(Edited by He Zhongxiu [0149 6945 4423])



## PARTY AND STATE

### EVENTUAL VICTORY OF COMMUNISM SAID TO BE INEVITABLE

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 3

[Commentary by Zhu Fuxun [4376 4395 6064]: "Hold High Our Communist Banner and Advance Courageously"]

[Text] The 12th Party Congress, long expected by the whole party and people of the whole nation, has not been triumphantly convened: At the time of the convening of this congress, we can't help but sing out loud: "The Internationale is bound to be realized!" Let us demonstrate fully our joyful fighting sentiments with the finest "Internationale" in our hearts.

The 12th Party Congress, with the ideological system of communism established by Marx and Engels as its fundamental guiding ideology, has made a scientific summation of the great historical shift realized during the 6 years since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. At the same time, it has determined the party's magnificent goals and fighting tasks in the new historical period. This is a congress of pivotal, great historic significance, a congress for bringing about new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization, and a congress to mobilize the whole party to hold high our communist banner and advance courageously. Seriously study the documents of the 12th Congress, profoundly understand and resolutely implement the spirit of the 12th Congress, arm our minds with the communist ideology, strive to do a good job of handling our various tasks with communist spirit and workstyle, and continue to bring about a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization and make contributions thereto: these are the glorious political tasks that lie ahead of every one of our comrades.

In order to implement the spirit of the 12th Congress, to insist on calling forth our spirit and exerting our zeal with communist ideology, and to strive to do a good job of handling our various tasks, we must stay in line with reality and clarify from the unity of theory and practice our muddled concepts and erroneous understanding about communism so as to thoroughly reform our thinking, exert our spirit, and hold still higher our communist banner.

The fundamental principle of Marxism tells us that communism has meaning in two aspects: one suggests a social system, that is, the building of the communist social system, which represents man's highest ideal; and one suggests a kind of

movement guided by the ideological system of communism. Marx and Engels pointed out: "What we call communism is that realistic movement which eliminates existing conditions." This serves to explain clearly that communism is first of all a kind of movement. Since the issuing of the "Communist Manifesto" in 1848, and ever since the appearance of a Communist Party in the world, there has always been a communist movement guided by the ideological system of communism. Looking back at the 61 years of our CPC history, it has been a brilliant history of precisely holding high our communist banner and engaging in the revolutionary practice for our communist cause. It was precisely under the guidance of the ideological system of communism that our party led the people of the whole country and, through long, hard, and assiduous struggles, and with countless revolutionary martyrs unmindful of sacrificing their lives and shedding their blood, finally overthrew the three big mountains imposed on the heads of the Chinese people, achieved the great new democratic victory, and established the socialist new China. Since the founding of our state, the party has again led us to carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction and similarly secured brilliant achievements. From the early days of the founding of our party to the war of resistance against Japan, the war of liberation, from the three great socialist transformations after the founding of our state to socialist construction, and from the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique to the great historical shift since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and right up to the bringing about of a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization today, all the revolutionary enterprises in which our party has engaged have constituted the communist movement guided by the ideological system of communism, and all have constituted practical deeds with the ultimate goal of realizing communism. We should especially see that the communist movement in which we are currently engaged is no longer the communist movement in which we first struggled for the seizure of political power but a communist movement with a socialist system--that is, the preliminary stage of communism--already established. In terms of the historical progress of social development, it is a communist movement that is increasingly nearing the long-range destination of a communist society. Are these not objective facts in our real life? How can it be said that "communism is distant and vague," "sings a stilted tune," or "utters empty words?" As for some who allege that "communism is fantasy" and "has not undergone test through practice," that is even more mistaken, and is neither theoretically nor practically convincing. Indeed, we have still not yet practiced communism as a social system. From our practical conditions at present, we can see that the conditions for concretely carrying out the communist practice of "to each according to his needs" are still not present; this still requires the process of a number of generations earnestly struggling to actively create these conditions. Hence the realization of the communist system really cannot be achieved until sometime in the very distant future. Marx's and Engels' scientific foresight in their day about communist society was no "fantasy," either; it was the inevitable law of historical development summed up from social practice by [evaluating] a large amount of data and by absorbing the ideological fruit of their predecessors. Naturally, the conceptualization of the communist social system by these revolutionary reachers was limited to a few points inferred from principle, and what [certain] aspects of that conceptualization were eventually to be like still required the test of practice. However, as we glance at the history of the international communist movement, take a look at the total revolutionary move-

ment in which our party has engaged, and also take a look at the various revolutionary tasks being undertaken by every loyal and sincere communist and revolutionary, they all constitute practicing the communist ideology. How can we have the slightest murkiness or doubt about this?

The magnificent goals and fighting tasks proposed by the 12th Party Congress have clearly pointed out the direction for us to build our advanced material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization. In order to accomplish these tasks and bring about a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization, we must treat our various tasks with communist thinking and work-style, link the work at our own posts with the communist cause and with the long-range destination of communism, and continue to create new results and make new contributions. The light of communist thinking flashing from the large number of heroic and model personalities emerging on our province's various fronts--from the forthright, exemplary Liu Hulan [0491 5170 5695], Yin Lingzhi [1438 7227 5347], of the war years to Luan Fu, Wang Shuying [3769 6615 5391], Fu Changwang [0265 2490 2489], Wu Jichang [0702 0679 2490], etc--is precisely a concrete demonstration of their heroic dedication to the party's communist cause. Hence they are praised by others and have become examples for others to follow. In learning from them, the main point for us is to learn their spirit of dedication and spirit of death-defying struggle in the interest of the communist cause and their selfless, lofty style. But we should also see that some party members are downcast and not assertive; they can hardly gather their spirit at work; they are used to passing the buck or dragging their feet; and they have failed to do a good job in handling their present tasks. There are also some who "look up to money in everything"; when there are profits, they work hard, but when no profits are in sight, they simply stop working, and they often wrangle a great deal for the infinitesimal personal gains they can get from under other people's noses. And there are even some who forget about justice once they see profits. Money muddles their minds; they encroach upon the property of the state and their collectives; they engage in such tricks as speculation and doubledealing, corruption, and acceptance of bribes, and they embark upon the road of economic crimes. Why have such phenomena appeared? The causes are of course multifarious, but the most fundamental one is their shaky confidence in communism as they harbor doubts about the theory of communism. They have lost the spiritual crutch of communism in their minds, and hence a breach has been made in their mental dam by capitalism. As a communist, becoming shaky and doubtful about communism means that one has been hit by the spiritual, sugar-coated bullets of capitalism; it means that one has become corroded; it means that one is reneging on communism.

Such people are of course no longer fit to be communists. For this reason, every one of us communists must arm our minds with communist ideology, consolidate our philosophy of life predicated on the struggle for communism, resolutely resist corrosion by the capitalist ideology, and serve as strong fighters against corrosion and change. Facts prove that without communist ideology there can be no socialism. At the same time, it is impossible to resist erosion by capitalist ideology by relying solely on the socialist principle of "to each according to his work." In order to "resist corrosion without ever becoming contaminated," we can succeed only by relying on communist ideology.

The 12th Party Congress has unfolded for us the magnificent scene of the construction of our socialist modernization and has opened up a broad avenue for us. Looking ahead, we are filled with lofty sentiments; turning toward reality, our confidence is infinitely enhanced. Let us hold high our communist banner, demonstrate our skill in handling our modernization enterprises, exert ourselves to climb the peak, and forge courageously ahead.

9255

CSO: 4005/19

## PARTY AND STATE

### COMMUNISM LAUDED AS OBJECTIVE TRUTH

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Zhong Wen [6945 5113]: Communism Is Undoubtedly an Objective Truth"]

[Text] Communism is the lofty ideal and glorious banner of us proletarian revolutionaries and communists. During the past few decades, the fine sons and daughters of our Chinese nation remained firmly confident in realizing socialism and communism in China while carrying out their struggle and work. Countless revolutionary martyrs have, in order to realize this sacred goal, not even minded dedicating their own precious lives. Ordinarily, there should be nobody who doubts such an ideal and a conviction so deeply rooted among the party members and masses. Yet, after 10 years of internal disturbance, questions have been raised with respect to the credibility of communism by some people. When education on communism is being carried out, the view is expressed: that communism is but imagination, a fantasy; it is not a truth and it is not yet proved and tested by practice. This kind of understanding not only violates the fundamental principle of Marxism but also is not in accord with the actual conditions under which communism rose and developed.

The theory of Marx and Engels on scientific communism is not fabricated out of the blue by some dreamer but the product of social practice at the time. During the time when Marx and Engels lived, capitalism underwent tremendous development. They directly participated in the struggle in politics, economy and culture in order to change the capitalist society; at the same time, they absorbed the fine ideological fruits of their predecessors and, on that basis, profoundly studied the laws of development of the capitalist society and suggested the scientific dictum that, because of the internal contradictions of the capitalist society, it was bound to be predisposed to its own demise and replaced by a newer and higher form of society--a socialist and communist society. Just as Lenin said, Marx theory that "the development of capitalism is bound to advance toward communism" was proposed by him wholly on the basis of his most accurate, most meticulous, and most profound study of the capitalist society with the help of a full understanding of the total knowledge of past sciences." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4 p 347)

We know that under the capitalist system there exist a state of anarchy in production, periodic economic crisis and workers' unemployment, poverty, close-down and bankruptcy of enterprises, and even economic confusion and disastrous destruction throughout the entire society as a result. Predecessors of Marx and Engels like Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen had poignantly exposed and

belabored such crimes and abuses of capitalism and also had offered certain speculation and conceptualization about the fine socialist and communist society of the future. But, because of the limitations of time and class, they failed to understand the real causes giving rise to these abuses and failed to perceive the objective laws of the development of the capitalist society; naturally, they were also unable to find the strength and path to realize socialism and communism. Their theories could only be of a utopian nature, and the social experiments undertaken by them likewise could only end in failure. Under their new historical conditions Marx and Engels summed up the experience of practice in struggle on the part of the proletariat and the experience and lessons in practice of utopian socialism and, through their study of the laws of the economic movement of the capitalist society, ultimately succeeded in revealing the fundamental cause of the crimes and abuses of the capitalist society: the contradiction under capitalism between the socialization of production and the private ownership of the means of production. It was precisely this unsurmountable fundamental contradiction which caused capitalism itself to bog down in inescapable economic crises and political crises and determined the fate of its inevitable replacement by a society suitable to the requirement of socialized large-scale production with public ownership as its basic characteristic--the socialist and communist society. From this, we can see that the theory of communism established by Marx and Engels is not only not utopia or fantasy but, on the contrary, it has precisely substituted utopia with science. This theory is established entirely on the basis of the objective laws of the development of the capitalist society and the development of human society. The large amount of factual data, theoretical premises, and the ideological fruits and experiences and lessons absorbed from precursors on which it is based has also been tested by the practice of revolutionary struggle by those precursors, especially the proletariat. Therefore, it can be said that this proletarian theory, even during its formation, already had the characteristic of a truth tested through practice and a scientific truth correctly reflecting the laws of social development.

This scientific theory of communism not only had the conspicuous characteristic of truthfulness during its formation but during the subsequent long period of test through practice it has also been proved to be a decidedly objective truth. According to the Marxist point of view, communism is not only a revolutionary ideological and theoretical system and an advanced social system, but also a most practical movement in pursuit of practical goals by practical means, that is, the communist movement. The inception of the communist movement was the establishment of the League of Communists in 1847 and the issuing of the "Communist Manifesto" in 1848. During the past hundred years or more, it has, through the hard, assiduous struggle by the world proletariat, successively secured the triumph of the Russian October Revolution, the triumph of the Chinese revolution, and the triumphs of revolutions in many other countries. These triumphs have all been achieved under the guidance of the theory of communism and they also constitute the most practical tests of Marx' revolutionary theory as to how capitalism is bound to be replaced by socialism and communism; they constitute the best testimonies to the truthfulness of the theory of communism.

Perhaps some would say that while there are today many countries which have overthrown capitalism and established their socialist society, there are

none which are as of yet building communism. Indeed, communism as a social system is the highest stage of man's historical development; therefore it requires sustained efforts from a number of generations before it can be successfully built. But we should see that a communist society and a socialist society are by no means two radically different forms of society but two different stages of the same form of society in the process of development. Just as Lenin said, in a socialist society "since the means of production have already become public property, then the term 'communism' is also applicable here so long as we don't forget that this is not a complete communism" but "the 'first' stage or lower stage of the communist society." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 255). Viewed from this sense, the socialist economic construction and building of the spiritual civilization which we are engaged in today are in fact a stage or component part of the great practice of building communism. Take our own country as an example, in spite of the fact that during the past few decades we have suffered some setbacks and passed through some tortuous paths, the level of our productive forces is still rather low, and problems such as unhealthy party work style and unhealthy social customs, etc., still exist. After the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has once again established the Marxist line and once again embarked under the guidance of the scientific theory of communism upon the course of healthy development. Since the third plenary session, our economic construction has grown steadily, the level of our productive forces and our economic results have gradually improved, the people's living standards have continued to be ameliorated, and social customs are also taking a turn for the better. During the building of our spiritual civilization, new people like Zhao Chun'e [6392 2504 1230] and Luan Fu [2940 5397] who care about their collectives, love the people, are selfless, and shine with the brilliance of the communist ideology have continued to surge forth. Can it be said that these lively practices are not also the best testimony to the principle of scientific communism?

In stressing that communism is a truth tested by practice, we by no means suggest that the theory of communism no longer needs to be developed, no longer needs to be tested by practice. The scientific theory of communism is not a stagnant theoretical system; it needs to continue to be tested by practice along with changes in historical conditions and the deepening development of revolutionary practice in order to enrich, perfect, and develop itself. But equally evident is that we can never just because the theory of communism continues to need testing through practice and continues to need supplement and perfection, deny the truthfulness of its reality. We should, instead, combine these two aspects by recognizing, on the one hand, that the theory of communism still needs to continue to be perfected and developed and by seeing, on the other hand, the truthfulness of its reality. Only thus is our perception of communism correct.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'MANIFESTO' ANALYZED AS OUTLINE OF MARXIST POLITICS

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[Article by Wang Bangzuo [3769 6721 0146] and Sun Guanhong [1327 7070 1347]:  
"The 'Communist Manifesto' Is an Outline of Marxist Politics"]

[Text] Politics is a science with strong class character. The slaveowner class, the landlord class, and the bourgeoisie all have their own politics. The political science of the proletariat came into being after the emergence of Marxism. It is symbolized by the publication of the "Communist Manifesto" (abbreviated the "Manifesto" from here on). The "Manifesto" is scientific communism's programmatic document and is the guiding outline of politics.

Of course, before the "Manifesto," Marx and Engels upheld the stand of the proletariat. They analyzed the political phenomena of capitalist society and wrote many brilliant expositions on political doctrines. For example, in the works "Introduction to the 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right,'" "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts," "The German Ideology," and "Principles of Communism," they analyzed political problems in the relationship between the state and socioeconomic structures and arrived at a series of correct conclusions. The "Manifesto" provided a systematic and complete exposition on political doctrine. The emergence of Marxist politics was a revolution in the history of political theory, and it ushered in a new phase in the development of political science.

#### I.

Political theory prior to Marxism was, in general, one of historical idealism.

As in "Utopia" by Plato, the ancient Greek, the political doctrine of the slaveowner class was a combined product of the philosophy of idealism and ethics. Aristotle in "Politics" separated politics and ethics. He was the first person in history to use concepts of the exploiting class to found a system of political science. However, he was strongly influenced by ethics. He used good and evil to judge states and governments. He believed that the slave and landlord government of the "Golden Mean" was the most ideal government.



In essence, the political theory of the feudal landlord class during the Middle Ages in Europe was dominated by the theological world outlook. The tenets of the church became the basis and starting point for political thought. Church dogma was also political dogma. The words of the Bible had legal effect in courts of law, and economic and social relations required the endorsement of the church.

Modern capitalist political theory is governed by the typical world outlook of jurisprudence. The world outlook of jurisprudence is the secularized version of the theological world outlook. Human rights have replaced religious doctrine and religious authority, and the state has replaced the church. In the world outlook of jurisprudence, all economic and social ties have rights as their basis, and they are created by the state. In 17th and 18th century Europe, the school of natural law, including such figures as Gesuxiusi [transliteration] of the Netherlands, Hobbes and Locke of England, Montesquieu and Leroux of France, and Spinoza of Germany, believed that natural law was above the law of realism. It is a reflection of human rationality and reflects the natural demands of mankind. It is eternal and unchanging. In 1776, under the guidance of the world outlook of jurisprudence, the United States promulgated the "Declaration of Independence," and in 1789 France published the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen," which advanced the "theory of natural rights." Although this played a fairly progressive role in history, it departed from fixed socioeconomic relations to deal with human rights in isolation. It concealed the class nature of human rights.

Even though they were utopian socialists and outstanding thinkers, Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen were still unable to break free of the restraints of historical idealism. They exposed and criticized the hideous political phenomena of capitalist society. They believed that there would be no way to eliminate the suffering created by the capitalist mode of production by merely remaining with the legal "basis of rights." However, they also totally rejected the legal and political sphere. They failed to realize the revolutionary function of the proletariat. They asserted that all political struggles were useless, and advocated the elimination of social inequality by using all labor income. They abandoned the class struggle of the proletariat and were unable to find the way to social emancipation.

The "Manifesto" differs from the above-mentioned early political doctrines in that it analyzes political phenomena by using a new world outlook. Lenin summarized this new world outlook as being a "thoroughgoing materialism which embraces all aspects of social life, dialectics which is the most complete and profound developmental theory and the theory of the international historical and revolutionary mission undertaken by the proletariat concerning class struggle and the creators of communism's new society." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 578) The "Manifesto" proceeds from this brandnew world outlook and explains the scientific nature and class character of Marxist politics in the following four areas.

First, it stresses how the production mode sets restrictions on politics. The production mode of certain social material goods and the resulting social struc-

ture are the political and spiritual foundation of that society. This is the fundamental philosophy of the "Manifesto." The historical materialism set forth in the "Manifesto" clearly shows that all political views of the people are, in the final analysis, guided by their economic living conditions, their mode of production, and their mode of product exchange. This then does away with the mysterious nature of politics of the past and establishes Marxist politics on a scientific basis. Second, it analyzes the class character of political phenomena. The "Manifesto" uses concepts of class and class struggle to analyze history and political phenomena. Class struggle is regarded as a basic thread that is connected with political struggle. It advances the famous phrase "All class struggles are political struggles." It points out the class nature of the state and political parties and exposes the class roots of national exploitation. In the past, political theories of class exploitation concealed the class character of political phenomena. Their aim was to deceive the people. The "Manifesto," however, openly declares that the political theory of Marxism serves the interests of the proletariat.

Third, it reveals the unity of Marxist political theory and the practice of revolution. The "Manifesto" establishes political theory on the scientific foundation of historical materialism and comes to the political conclusion the bourgeoisie is doomed, while the proletariat will be victorious. The victory of the proletariat does not depend on favors bestowed by others, but rather it depends on the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat itself. This is the great historical mission of social emancipation undertaken by the proletariat. The "Manifesto" clearly explains the path of the proletarian revolution and tactics for the struggle. It both expounds scientific theory and emphasizes the practice of revolution. This is another remarkable feature that distinguishes Marxist politics from all other political theories of class exploitation.

Fourth, it embodies the fighting spirit of proletarian political doctrine. This is not only manifested in expositions on the revolutionary role of the proletariat but is also prominently expressed in the solemn criticism of various theories that are antagonistic toward the proletariat. It helps the proletariat to break away from the influence of various erroneous ways of thinking and to recognize that Marxist politics is the banner of their own military victory.

## II.

The many important principles which are set forth in the theoretical basis of the guiding ideology, the content matter and the methodology of the "Manifesto" form the basic system of Marxist politics. In this sense, the "Manifesto" is an outline of Marxist politics.

First, the "Manifesto" sets forth class theory and the theory of class struggle. It clearly points out that the history of all society since the disintegration of primitive society is a history of class struggle. This means that class struggle is the motive force behind the historical development of class society. The "Manifesto" relates the circumstances of class antagonism and class struggle in slave societies and feudal societies. It clearly shows that the final result of class struggle makes it inevitable that new modes of production replace

earlier modes of production. The "Manifesto" analyzes the process of the emergence and development of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as well as the struggle between the two. It analyzes political phenomena such as classes in capitalist societies and class struggle. It points out that only by waging a class struggle against the bourgeoisie can the proletariat bring about the revolutionary transformation of all of society. In this way the proletariat can eliminate classes, liberate all of mankind, and in the end liberate himself.

Second, the "Manifesto" makes an extremely penetrating exposition of the key political question of the state. It proposes a new scientific conclusion. For example, the "Manifesto" analyzes states, particularly the class character of bourgeois states and their transience in history. It points out that the common trait of the political power of such states are merely committees for managing the general affairs of the bourgeoisie. Once the conditions of that class have been eliminated and that public authority has lost its class character, the state will be destroyed. Another example is that the "Manifesto" comes close to drawing conclusions on smashing the capitalist state machinery. Lenin said: "Since the proletariat requires a state that has this sort of particularly violent organization for opposing the bourgeoisie, then it is only natural to draw the conclusion: If we do not eliminate and destroy the bourgeoisie beforehand in order to set up our own state machinery, we will be basically unable to set up such an organization! The 'Communist Manifesto' has come close to drawing this conclusion." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 192) Another example is the statement by the "Manifesto" that the most outstanding and significant contribution of Marxism on the question of the state is the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Although the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" first appeared in "The 1848-1850 Class Struggle in France," the basic ideas were already made clear in the "Manifesto." The "Manifesto" proposed that the "proletariat use violence to overthrow the bourgeoisie and set up its own rule"; that "the immediate goal of communists is...to overthrow the domination of the bourgeoisie and for the proletariat to seize power"; that "the proletariat must above all obtain political rule"; and that "the first step of the workers' revolution is to see to it that the proletariat rises to [become] the ruling class and fights for democratic rights." In reality, all of this deals with the question of the state system of proletarian nations. The "Manifesto" also touches upon the question of the form of government. In his book "The State and Revolution," Lenin wrote: What should we use to replace the smashed state machinery? "In 1847, Marx's answer to this question in the 'Communist Manifesto' was very abstract." However, 2 years after the "Manifesto" was published, in "The 1848-1850 Class Struggle in France," Marx criticized the Paris proletariats during the June uprising for mistakenly believing that the capitalist republic was a "socialist republic." Actually, it was a case of seeing a "socialist republic" as the organizational form of a proletarian state power. For a long time people have said that the proletariats discovered the form of the Paris Commune, the Soviet system and the system of the people's congress, while they have overlooked studies on republican systems, especially the basic feature of the socialist republic form of government. In addition, the "Manifesto" also pointed out the tasks of countries with a dictatorship of the proletariat. After proletariats have fought for democratic rights and have risen to become the ruling class, they must make use of their state power to gradually deprive the bourgeoisie of all means of production and concentrate it in the hands of

the proletariat. They must also do their utmost to increase their total productive capacity. The 10 specific measures, put forward in the "Manifesto" for progressively depriving the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes of their right to private property, for developing industrial and agricultural production, and for transforming society reflect how the proletarian state must exert an influence on economic development. Marx and Engels believed that by implementing these 10 measures, [the proletariat] would further advance toward far-reaching objectives such as eliminating conditions that exist in classes themselves, and seeing that public authority loses its class character so that the state will be destroyed. Once the tasks of states under the dictatorship of the proletariat are completed, their organizational form will be replaced by the coalition system of communist society.

Third, the "Manifesto" expounds the doctrine of revolution. It does not discuss revolution in the abstract but rather it links revolution with the development of productive forces and the transformation of production relations. The "Manifesto" evaluates the historical advance of the bourgeoisie and points out how it destroyed feudal and patriarchal production and social relations and how it greatly encouraged the development of social productive forces. However, along with the development of capitalist productive forces. They seriously hampered social progress, and the revolutionary spirit of the bourgeoisie was wiped out. The "Manifesto" discusses the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and the developmental laws of the proletarian revolution. It systematically links the ideology of violent revolution with the theory of class struggle and the state. The "Manifesto" also sets forth the idea of continuous revolution. Marx and Engels discussed the attitude that the proletariat should adopt concerning the democratic revolution in Germany at that time. They believed that the German proletariat should uphold the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the feudal class and actively participate in the democratic revolution. However, they should not for one minute forget their own antagonistic position regarding the bourgeoisie. "The revolution of the German bourgeoisie is the immediate prelude to the revolution of the proletariat." After the proletariat together with the bourgeoisie overthrow the feudal autocratic system, they must continue to wage a socialist revolution and launch a struggle to oppose the bourgeoisie.

Fourth, the "Manifesto" discusses the theory of political parties. It points out that the Communist Party is the political party of the proletariat. "The party does not have any interests that differ from the interests of the proletariat." The party is the representative of the basic interests of the proletariat. The characteristics of the party are to support the principle of internationalism, to have a thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit, and to uphold from beginning to end the long-range objectives of communism in every developmental state of the struggle. Consequently, in actual practice, the Communist Party is the most resolute of the workers' parties in all countries and consistently pushes for movement and advancement. Theoretically, the party looks to Marxism for guidance in understanding the conditions, the process, and the general objectives of the proletarian movement. It has led the proletariat from victory to victory, and therefore it is the vanguard organization of the proletariat. The "Manifesto" also set forth the basic guiding principles of the Communist Party. It states that the immediate goals of communists are: to organize the proletariat into a powerful political force, to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, and to have the proletariat seize political power. The

basic features of the communist revolution are to abolish the bourgeois system of private ownership and thoroughly eliminate the system of exploitation.

Fifth, the "Manifesto" discusses the question of nationalities. It connects the problem of nationalities to the class problem and points out that the exploitation of nationalities has led to oppression and barriers of misunderstanding among nationalities. The capitalist system is at the root of all of this. Thus, only by eliminating the capitalist system is it possible to abolish the exploitation and oppression of nationalities and to remove the barriers of misunderstanding among nationalities. The "Manifesto" emphasizes the international character of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie and asserts that only by uniting the proletariats of all nationalities in the world is it possible to win victory in the proletarian world revolution.

Sixth, the "Manifesto" sets forth the tactical problems of political struggle. It presents the basic principles for tactics in the Marxist political struggle: "Communists must struggle for the immediate goals and interests of the working class; however, during this movement they must also represent the future of the movement." It is considered that communists should actively support or directly participate in all revolutionary movements that oppose existing old systems. At the same time, they must on no account forget that the matter of system of ownership is essential to the revolutionary movement. Furthermore, they should adopt different tactics to deal with opposition parties in different countries with different political stands. Correct international tactics will facilitate mutual support and solidarity among the democratic parties of all nations, thereby strengthening progressive forces in these nations. This would be of benefit to opposing the old system of exploitation that currently exists.

The "Manifesto" gives a systematic and complete account of the major areas of politics mentioned above. It forms the basic system of Marxist politics. We believe that if in practice we regard the "Manifesto" as an outline of Marxist politics, it will be of major significance in understanding the history and current state of politics and in establishing a Marxist political science that is appropriate for China.

### III.

The publication of the "Manifesto" ushered in a new era. It gave strong impetus to the propagation and development of Marxist politics.

Lenin integrated the actual conditions of Russian society and the revolution. He gave a creative exposition of the major areas of politics covered in the "Manifesto." For instance, in "What's To Be Done?" and "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward" Lenin explained theories of political struggle and the party. In "The State and Revolution" and "On the State" he discussed theories of the state and revolution. In "The Two Tactics of the Social Democratic Party During the Democratic Revolution" and "'Left-Wing' Communism, and Infantile Disorder," he explained the strategy and tactics for revolution. In "The Rights of Nations of Self-Determination" and "Theses on the Socialist Revolution and the Rights of Nations to Self-Determination" he explained theories on national questions, etc. This was a new development in Russian Marxist politics, coming over half a century after the publication of the "Manifesto."

The Chinese people embraced Marxist politics after the October Revolution in Russia. In 1920 a translation of the "Manifesto" was published. It had a profound effect on intellectuals with the beginnings of communist ideology. Later on, people began to use Marxist views to teach political science. For example, at Shanghai University, Qu Qiubai and Zhang Tailei gave lectures on "An Introduction to Social Science" and "Political Science," respectively. Yun Daiying gave lectures on "An Introduction to Political Science" at the Central School of Military and Political Affairs and at the Guangzhou Institute on the Peasant Movement. He also published a printed pamphlet with the same title. In the 1930's it became common practice to use Marxist concepts to teach and study political science. During the period that Deng Chumin was studying in Japan, he systematically studied works such as the "Communist Manifesto" and "Das Kapital" in order to establish a personal system of learning and ideas and to lay a theoretical foundation. In 1930 he wrote "An Outline of Political Science," and in 1939 he published "An Outline of the New Politics." The two works thoroughly and systematically dealt with the essence, concepts, and research methodology of political science as well as its position in social science. He explained the basic principles of political categories such as class, the state, government, political parties, and revolution by using the world outlook and methodology of Marxism. In fact, these works reflect the basic principles of the "Manifesto."

In the revolutionary base area, much attention was given to Marxist political works. Leading comrades of the central government repeatedly gave instructions that classical works such as the "Communist Manifesto," "The State and Revolution," "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder" and "The Foundations of Leninism" were to be regarded by cadres as required reading. In his work "On the New Democracy," Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a profound exposition and clarification of a series of fundamental issues in politics such as class and class struggle, the state, political power, revolution, political parties, patriotism, internationalism and, most important, the strategy and tactics of revolution. At the same time, other proletarian revolutionaries such as Comrade Liu Shaoqi also wrote systematic and original expositions on problems in the establishment of the party. These Chinese-style political theories enriched the treasure house of Marxist theory and guided the Chinese revolution to win a great victory.

After the founding of new China, Marxist politics should have been further perfected and developed under the new conditions. Unfortunately, however, due to the influence at that time of the Soviet Union and the subsequent development of events, not only did they deny that politics was an independent discipline, they even denounced it as a capitalist pseudoscience. Things began to change only after the smashing of the "gang of four." Under the loving care of the party Central Committee, politics has come to be regarded as an independent discipline and is rapidly being reinstated and developed. The importance of politics is just now being broadly recognized by people in all areas of society. The founding of the Chinese Political Science Association at the end of 1980 can be said to be a new starting point for research in Marxist politics.

Over 130 years have passed since the publication of the "Manifesto." Even though tremendous changes have occurred in the world and in China, today with the establishment of a Chinese-style Marxist political science we can still gain a good deal of enlightenment by studying and investigating the "Manifesto."

First of all, as far as guiding ideology is concerned, China's political science must have Marxism as its theoretical foundation. At one time there was a view that it was possible to let up on or totally ignore the study of Marxism in order to focus on studying new conditions and new problems in the political sphere. This view is incorrect. The "Manifesto" is a scientific socialist work that is required reading of every worker. The degree of the people's familiarity with it is perhaps beyond compare. However, every time we restudy it we always get something new out of it. This is also true when we study it from the point of view of political science. To be sure, Marxist politics must certainly move with the times, but the many basic principles contained in the "Manifesto" must be upheld. Only by supporting these principles can there be advancement. In fact, the proletarian revolutionary leaders of all nations are good at combining the basic principles of Marxism with the actual concrete conditions in their country. They continue to solve new problems, yet manage to uphold the basic principles of Marxism while at the same time expanding on these principles. Owing to the fact that many principles of Marxist politics have been disseminated throughout most works by revolutionary teachers, when establishing the discipline of Chinese politics it is necessary to conscientiously seek out these works. We must systematically, thoroughly, and accurately master their theoretical system in order to use it as an ideological weapon for studying new conditions and new problems.

Second, as far as subject matter is concerned, the "Manifesto" studies the political phenomena under the conditions of that period--such as class, the state, revolution, political parties, nationalities, strategies, and tactics. It also sets forth a series of theoretical principles. As set forth in the "Manifesto," actual application of these principles must always be subject to change in accordance with the historical conditions of that time. For example, when 19th century Marx and Engels analyzed the essential characteristics of the proletarians who sold out their own labor force to the needs of capitalist production and to increase capital, they naturally explained this by linking the heavy physical labor of the proletariat of that period and their material impoverishment. Today, quite a few workers in certain Western countries no longer have to do the strenuous labor of the past. Some have cars, refrigerators, and even private homes. Naturally, Marxist politics cannot merely repeat the concrete portrayal of the conditions of workers found in "The Conditions of the English Working Class." It must use the basic principles to provide a scientific interpretation of newly emerging phenomena. As for raising the income level of workers in certain capitalist nations, we should use new data to prove that since modernized production requires a labor force with an even higher level of technical and specialized knowledge, therefore the value of the labor force has increased. The improvements in the living conditions of workers at the present time is in fact a requirement of capitalism for exploiting the workers under the new conditions. China has already eliminated the system of exploitation, and the exploiting class no longer exists as a class. Under such historical conditions, Marxist politics must study the political system of socialist China and other important political matters such as the particular form of the class struggle in socialist societies, the socialist form of government, the cadre system, etc. Consequently, at present and in the future, the subject of the study of Marxist politics must continually change. The basic principles of Marxist politics can be better supported only through development and change.

Third, the basic methods for studying Marxist politics are dialectal materialism and historical materialism. We must continue to support these methods. More specifically, the methods of class analysis and integration of theory with practice must under no circumstances be discarded. Comparative studies--that is, the method of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China"--are also useful. At the same time, we must realize that with the development of scientific technology, it is possible to utilize methods of modern natural science used by politicians in the United States and Japan, such as statistics. We can learn rational and useful things from them. In sum, we must pay full attention to studying, improving, and perfecting our methods in order to facilitate the gradual formation of a methodology for political study that is uniquely Chinese.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEED TO STRENGTHEN IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF YOUTHS EMPHASIZED

Ghengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 82 p 3

[Article written by Li Yanjie [2621 3601 2638] in Chengdu on 13 August 1982: "A Train of Thoughts Triggered by My Visit to the Capital of Heaven--a Message to Workers Dedicated to the Youth Program"]

[Excerpts] Editor's note: Comrade Li Yanjie, lecturer of Beijing Teachers College, who is known by "his friendly dedication to the ideological education of youths" recently wrote an article for this newspaper entitled "A Train of Thoughts Triggered by My Visit to the Capital of Heaven." The article is based on what he saw and heard during his visit to Sichuan, an article that deserves particular attention from comrades dedicated to ideological and political work, especially those comrades devoted to the work of educating youths.

Ideological and political work is a branch of science. How to use scientific thinking, scientific approach and scientific method as a key to achieving a breakthrough in this "branch of science dealing with human souls" of the 1980's is really a matter that needs to be studied. Comrade Li Yanjie's article has given us an invaluable signal in this direction.

Sichuan abounds in natural resources, famous mountains and rivers. It is also known for its glorious revolutionary tradition, and industrious and intelligent people. It really deserves to be called an affluent province endowed by nature, a province capable of producing heroes bringing glory to their native place. "The grandeur of roads in Sichuan is truly beyond description." The trip that took me to Sichuan was really rewarding and highly instructive, particularly in the area of how to promote successfully ideological work among youths. This article was written as a tribute to youths in Sichuan as well as the forthcoming 12th Party Congress.

An Enlightenment of "Difficult Roads in Sichuan"

The ancients said: "The roads in Sichuan are as difficult as the path to the blue skies." Today, tremendous changes have taken place in Sichuan where

people have scored remarkable success in building a socialist material civilization. This fact teaches us a profound lesson: Difficulties are not insurmountable; as long as we display an indomitable spirit to remove the mountains and sharpen skills in dredging the rivers, we can turn the harmful into the beneficial and make difficult jobs easy ones. This fact reminds me of the problem in the ideological education of youths.

How should the ideological problem of youths be evaluated?

This young generation grew up in the 10 years of the civil strife, a generation which personally saw the "gang of four" turn upside down relationships between men and evils, between truth and falsehood, between good and bad, between the beautiful and the ugly, and between right and wrong. The majority of youths experienced a mental transformation which began with skepticism, misgivings and exploration and ended in awakening and forward-looking movement. Given the special historical conditions at the time, this change in mentality should surprise no one. It is clearly unfair to assign the blame for all problems that have been created to youths alone. It is also wrong to call them members of a hopeless generation. Furthermore, a general survey shows that the quality and main aspect of our young generation as a whole are good, sound and hopeful. Although some people have seen only the youths who aimlessly roam in the streets, as a matter of fact, they constitute only a small proportion of the large youth population of many millions. The overwhelming majority of youths have studied technology diligently and assiduously, and are interested in the four modernizations program. Even those disappointed and distraught youths who have fallen victim to cheating and have been rejected by their capricious lovers are unwilling to lag behind others. We must understand that youths have not only strengths but weaknesses as well, which are visible to everyone. Although they are apt to observe problems in a unilateral and radical way, this weakness also reflects their strong point on the ideological front and thoughtfulness in dealing with problems. Although they are interested in fads and new ideas, and although their ability to distinguish right from wrong is limited, this tendency also reflects their strong desire to acquire knowledge and their readiness to accept new things. Although they lack a sense of organization and discipline, they have the desire to promote democracy and courage to express their views. Although they have the habit of criticizing and complaining about life, they are keenly interested in realizing the four modernizations program and reform.

In short, we must evaluate the ideological problem of youths from the historical and dialectical point of view. If we see it from the historical point of view, we can proceed to gain an insight into the background and cause of their ideological problem, as well as an understanding of why this young generation and the party are in the same boat and share the same destiny, and why we should give them love. If we see it from the dialectical point of view, we will become aware that the quality and the main aspect of our young generation are good, and will gain confidence in transforming it through education until the unhealthy aspects of its ideology are eliminated.

## Thoughtful Message From Builders of the Dujiang Irrigation System

The six-character lesson on flood control summed up by Li Bin and his son: "Dredge the river deep, and build dams to protect the plains," tells us that in harnessing the rivers, reliance on building dams alone won't work, and efforts must be made to dredge their shallow sections and to regulate waterways. Although this is the way rivers are harnessed, is it also true of the transformation of people?

The term "dredge and regulate" here is highly meaningful. The term "dredge" can be construed as "remove obstructions," "chart a course," and "make a breakthrough" while the term "regulate" can be interpreted as "give some one instruction, advice, lessons and induce him to do something." When the two terms are converted into a phrase, it means removing obstacles, putting things on right track, and reconciling, transforming and resolving contradictions. If comrades devoted to the education of youths fail to heed this lesson on dredging and regulating, and are interested only in subjecting them to control, restriction and oppression, they will end up containing flood by means of damming alone and sharpening contradictions instead of resolving them.

It is easy to talk about it but difficult to get it done. Doing ideological work among youths means coming to grips with knowledge and the art of education. First, we must love and keep in close touch with the youths, and try to understand clearly what they have in mind so that we can choose the most opportune moment to address their problems in the most effective way. Generally speaking, during their journey to the cherished goal in life, youths will invariably encounter the following three problems: (1) the problem concerning their education, jobs and ideals; (2) the problem concerning their love affairs, marriage and family life; (3) the problem concerning their sense of the state and the nation and justice. However, it must be noted that the characteristics of the three problems which face every generation vary from era to era. To this generation of youth which suffered frustrations in the 10 years of civil strife from which it still has not fully recovered, these problems mean a loss of education, jobs, lovers, and will to live a normal life. By now, the problems of how to inspire the youths to adopt a correct attitude toward such "losses," how to stimulate their interest in life, how to encourage them to set a sail to their cherished ideal goal, and how to make them rekindle the flame in their souls, have become bottlenecks to the implementation of ideological and political work among the youths. The key to success in addressing such bottlenecks is love. We often compare youths to the flowers of our motherland. Certainly, we must love not only flowers in full bloom but also flowers which bear the brunt of frosts. Whatever their backgrounds, youths of all kinds are children of our motherland. Is there any reason that compatriots should not love and help one another? I firmly believe that warm love is instrumental in melting cold hearts, and in opening the closed windows of minds.

Second, we must trust and understand youths, explore the bright side of their life and grasp every crucial moment to educate them. One day, I heard a

youngster say: "Is there any youth who does not want to make progress and who wants only to lead a decadent life?" This voice echoes the opinion of the vast majority of the young people. Our comrades devoted to the work of educating youths must trust youths, and must be aware that there is a candle deep down in the heart of every youth. If we can dig out this candle that is buried deep in his soul and light it up, we can turn it into a flame. Recently, I found that a youth lost his interest in life and wanted to escape this world to become a Buddhist monk because he was in trouble with his family and neighbors. Although he claimed that he had seen through the mundane world, a candle was buried deep in his soul because he hoped that his action would end up removing a gap between two generations along with an obstacle to progress. This discovery of a candle in his soul provided an opportunity to educate him. Through education, he regained confidence in life and interest in going back to work. We cannot even discriminate against those wayward youths. We must treat them as equals, and try our best to find even the faintest silver lining in their gloomy hearts.

Third, we must look after and help youths, instill in them the communist faith and chart a correct course of education for them. To chart a correct educational course for youths is not only a point of departure but also a goal for comrades dedicated to the work of educating youths. To educate youths in communist ideology is not only our responsibility but also a direction in which we must move in this work. One day, a youngster told me that he believed in neither communism nor Marxism. I asked: What society do you hope to live in? He said: "I hope to live in a society of universal harmony devoid of cheating." What a good idea! There is no conflict at all between the society of universal harmony and communism. More than that, communism is an ideal aimed at building a world of universal harmony deprived of exploitation and oppression. Although we agree with each other on this point, the problem is how to realize a world of universal harmony. I told him that the path to the goal of universal harmony could not be found in the ancient Chinese precepts of universal harmony or in Kang Youwei's "Book on Universal Harmony"; nor are the Christian "Bible," Mohammed's "Koran," or Shakyamuni's "Sutras" panaceas for saving the world; only the perfect communist ideological system founded by Marx and Engels is good at translating the communist utopia into a branch of science. At this point, this youth said: "This time, I am totally convinced." If we want to steer youths on the road toward communism and convince them of this truth, we must give them love, show them compassion, reason with them, tell them the truth and guide them toward correct behavior.

#### A Chain of Thought Triggered by a Visit to the Temple of Zhu Gelang

Today, many youths believe in religions. While in the Qingcheng and Emei Mountains, I saw vendors selling incense and paper money everywhere. I also saw people streaming into temples where they burned incense and bowed their heads before the Buddhist statues. When they emerged from the temples and were on their way home, many wore images of Buddha. Among them were devout Buddhist followers, curiosity-obsessed tourists, and souvenir-collectors. According to comrades on the staff of the Emei Tourism Administration, each year, they receive nearly 800,000 visitors, approximately 1/10 of whom

are faithful pilgrims to the Buddhist temples. Among them are men and women both young and old and individual party and CYL members. This fact deserves our attention. Although citizens in our country enjoy freedom to believe in religion, we should spare no effort to preach materialism. It should be suggested that plants originally designed to produce badges of Buddhist image be encouraged to manufacture badges in memory of the revolution; that the legendary tales contained in the "Emei Story" be balanced by works extolling the laboring people's efforts to change nature. We must give less emphasis to the superstitious nature and more emphasis to the process of construction in introductions to our cultural relics. For example, is it possible to emphasize how the bronze pagoda in the name of Hua Yan was minted and how the statue of the saints on elephants was moved up the mountain? By doing this we can educate tourists in materialism and man's determination to conquer nature, and inspire the public to demonstrate love and affection for the splendid landscape of the motherland and its laboring people. Under the impact of the religious superstitions, some youths have failed to demonstrate a firm faith in communism. Some youths have said that communism is only a dream or like the moon it is too remote to be reached. Their reasoning is that communism is an idea that still needs to be verified through tests. Actually, this is a misunderstanding, because communism is not only a socialist system but also an ideological system and a practical movement. Although communism as a social system still has a long way to go from its ultimate realization, socialism--the initial stage of communism--now claims a history of more than 60 years on earth. Because communism is a long-term cause whose realization calls for efforts by countless generations, no one should envision its realization in a matter of 1 day. Although the communist movement may still suffer frustrations or setbacks during its march forward, it has been firmly established as an inexorable law governing the development of human society. One cannot sense communism as a reality until one envisions it as a lofty ideal and acts in a way consistent with the ultimate communist objective. If we all think and act in a way that contributes to the building of the communist entity, we can certainly expect an early victory for the communist cause.

The triumphant convention of the 12th party congress is drawing near. Under its guidance, the triumphant convention of the "11th Congress of the CYL" is also expected. Let all our old, middle-aged and younger comrades unite as one in the common struggle to broaden the prospect for the development of socialist modernization.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### ARTICLE REPORTS ON COMPUTER SCIENCE AT NANJING UNIVERSITY

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 4, 82, Apr 82 pp 25-26

[Article by Wen Youxin [5113 0645 0207]: "The Professional Orientation Is Firm--Teaching and Research Develop Together--Report on Nanjing University's Computer Science Department"]

[Text] The Computer Science Department of Nanjing University is in the forefront of computer science in China. Personnel are few, the mission is difficult, conditions are not the best; but the department has matured rapidly and achieved much. Since this speciality was set up in the Mathematics Department in 1958, and as a department itself in 1978, there have been only 13 years for actual work, excluding the serious interruptions of the 10 years of disorder. However, in cooperation with other units they have designed 5 computer models and 10 kinds of software, they have published 31 scientific articles of a fairly high level, and trained almost 300 undergraduate and 3 postgraduate students in the field. The entire department does both its ideological-political work and its professional work very well. There is a manifest academic atmosphere.

Computer studies is a new discipline. All of the units concerned with computer studies in China started up around 1958. Why is it that Nanjing University has moved to the forefront when all the units started up at the same time? Is it because of a surfeit of manpower? There are only 54 faculty members in the entire department. It has the smallest faculty of the nine natural sciences departments, and yet it bears a heavy load. The number of students in the department has already reached 517 undergraduates, 20 postgraduates, and 8 advanced students. In addition they have taken on 13 national research projects, and instruct 800 students from the other 8 departments in computer principles. Is it that objective conditions are good? That's not it either. The university has allocated little funding to the department since it was set up; on the contrary, the department has provided the university with 110,000 yuan. What is the reason then? Besides the correct leadership of the university party committee, it is a result of their own aspirations, and the principles and methods for departmental administration which they have gradually worked out through practice, and which have proven correct.

(1) Follow the orientation and be unflagging in perseverance. The realm of computer science is extensive and rapidly changing: Where could they start in building the discipline? They carefully analyzed the realities of their university and their own personal characteristics, and decided to make the most of their strengths while avoiding their weaknesses by adopting software as their basic orientation. For this purpose they sent Zu Jiafu [1776 1367 4395] (professor and doctoral student advisor) abroad to study programming languages. Since then there have been numerous "fads" in China and abroad, but they have continued to deploy their scientific echelon in accordance with the orientation laid down, and have not set off on blind pursuits. They have worked hard progressively to expand the field of software research, doing increasingly solid work in such areas as "languages" and "operating systems." The results of their research have won praise from China's computer industry as well as such departments and ministries as the Fourth Ministry of Machine Building, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry, and the State Administration of Computer Industry. Nanjing University's advanced position in software has also been reaffirmed many times.

(2) Make the most of strengths, avoid areas of weakness, and fight to win the initiative. Software cannot be separated from hardware. In 1958 they designed the first Model 103 computer at a cost of 4 million yuan. It was a great achievement, but the cost was also great. Should they continue to design hardware? They opened up a new road of cooperation with manufacturing plants, working together with the Shanghai No 13 Radio Plant, the Changzhou No 2 Radio Plant, the Nanjing No 734 Plant, and others. The plants produced the hardware, and they provided mutual support in the design and implementation of languages. This shows far greater initiative than to expend a great deal of effort building computers themselves. The advantages of this can be summed up in three points: First, they make a direct contribution to the development of China's computer industry. Second, they can stay serious-minded, and can train and temper the ranks of teachers through practice. They can observe the developmental tendencies of the discipline, keep the scientific initiative, and base their teaching and research on the advanced levels of computer development in China. Third, they can promote social understanding of the professional standards of the university, and at the same time take in some revenue to use in equipping themselves and improving their working conditions (in the last 4 years the department has earned 1 million yuan, of which 800,000 yuan has been used to purchase 11 microprocessors, 22 terminals, and 4 distributed operating systems.)

(3) Insist on the two central tasks: teaching and research spur each other on. How can a newly created discipline be made to flourish in the university? At Nanjing University it is believed that the key is to handle correctly the relationship between teaching and research from the very beginning. From the leaders to the teachers, from thought to action, the two must be closely integrated. The clearly enunciated guiding principles for the department are: excel in software, and integrate software and hardware; and teaching energizes research, while research spurs on teaching. First, it is emphasized that teaching plays a role in energizing research. It is emphasized that teaching is the starting point for the selection of research topics, as well as being an important point of return. From the point of view of

nurturing talent this is a real insight. We can discover talent through teaching, and go on to bring up successors in scientific endeavors: this is the most basic kind of "energizing." Furthermore, full-time researchers after all, have their own limitations. If teachers and students with various points of view and depths of learning have contact with and participate in research, this will provide research with a continuous flow of energy. For example, during the seventies work with data bases was all the rage in foreign countries. Nanjing University did not make a move until teachers and students expressed their needs to the researchers. Only then did they organize their forces to seek out an assignment in the north China oilfields to develop a storage management system. As soon as the research project was completed a related course of study was offered. At the same time a contingent was trained to do data base research. The role of research in spurring on teaching is even more apparent. The principal reason why this department has been able to form an academic echelon, offer 35 courses, prepare 28 volumes of teaching materials, and raise the level of teaching to a high level in such a short time, is that the research efforts have been successful. (Thirteen important state and provincial research projects have been completed, of which eight have filled gaps in our country, and six have won awards.) Fifteen of the 35 courses have been new courses for which teaching materials had to be created through research. For example, teaching materials for ALGOL could not have been created except through research in that language. Computer science is very much oriented toward practice: without research and repeated hands-on computer experience it is impossible to have a deep understanding and make clear explanations when teaching. It is precisely because they have emphasized the integration of teaching and research that 95 percent of the department faculty have undergone research training, while 70 percent of the faculty have had teaching responsibilities. There is no separation between the department and the research facility. Their research in the high-level language XCY was carried out in response to teaching requirements. Afterwards it was initially taught two times on a trial basis in the classroom, revealing many problems. After being further perfected by the researchers this language has become far more rational and systematic, while the theoretical conceptions and the intellectual progressions of developing software have become clearer and better articulated. Therefore, they advocate that everybody engaging in research and everybody engaging in teaching take the first steps toward that happy state in which most of the faculty will have the "two skills" (skill in teaching and skill in research).

(4) Pay attention to building up an academic echelon. The Computer Science Department of Nanjing University has an excellent corps of teachers. Professor Ye Nanxun [0673 0589 3575], department chairman, has devoted a great deal of effort to computer science education. In setting up the Computer Science Department, he has played and is continuing to play an important role on such key issues as grasping the department's direction of development, and the all-round organization and coordination of its forces. At the present time the department faculty has 2 processors, 7 assistant professors, 37 lecturers, and 8 teaching assistants. There are two conspicuous strengths: First, the average age is a young 42 years. The entire contingent is vigorous and spirited. The three leaders in the field, Xu Jiafu, Sun Zhongxiu [1327 6988 4423], and Zhang Fuyan [1728 4395 3508], are 57, 45, and 42 years old, respectively. They are just in their most productive



productive years and full of vim and vigor. Two years ago Sun Zhongxiu went to the United States for advanced study. He originally planned to stay for 2 years, but completed his plans in 1-1/2 years and returned to China ahead of time. With great dedication he immediately applied what he had intensively studied in the United States to his teaching and research. Second, the ranks are well-ordered. They constitute a multilayered, small but powerful, academic echelon. Influenced by the vanguard type model of CPC and CYL members, the above three academic leaders function as the mainstays, motivating 10 project leaders, under these are 17 key faculty members who independently direct research and teaching. There are also 10 faculty members who devote most of their efforts to teaching, but who also cooperate in assuming some research responsibilities. The leaders of the echelon have solid talent and learning, as well as rich practical experience. For example, Xu Jiafu and Sun Zhongxiu have often been invited to attend academic conferences abroad. Zhang Fuyan has often been engaged by other departments and branches to examine and accept computer imports from abroad, and to advise in negotiations. The rapid development of this contingent would not be possible without the solicitude of the leaders and the timely adoption of certain effective measures: (1) Put faculty members in the frontlines, let them mature through practice, provide them with directed training, and allow them to work independently once they have reached a certain level. (2) Let the old hands guide the new hands, and encourage them to consciously yield to the new hands. Besides letting the old hands guide the new hands, and regularizing cooperative work, they are encouraged to yield leadership in their areas to new hands, once they are fundamentally mature. Alternatively, the old hands should help the new hands to branch out and carry on the battle independently. (3) Organize all kinds of training groups with the key faculty members as the principal lecturers. For faculty members who are rich in teaching or research experience, the discussion group and research group formats are used for mutual exchanges and enhancement, enabling the general faculty members to broaden their horizons and benefit from the academic atmosphere. (4) Whether in teaching or research, department requirements are tough and strict. Teaching materials must be of a quality suitable for publication, frequent business trips must not lead to laxity in professional studies, and scholarly research must be rigorous.

What we have been told shows that the Nanjing University Computer Science Department is a very promising department. In order for it to develop in a healthy way, we must give it even more support and make even greater demands.

(1) Cooperation is necessary for development. The computational mathematics and mathematical logic specialities in the Mathematics Department, the Computation Center, and the Computer Science Department of Nanjing University have been a single family in the past. At present they have interlocking professional relations, but internal cooperation is still not good enough, and it should be further strengthened.

(2) Add new forces in an appropriate way, to make the teaching contingent of the department even more complete.

(3) Strengthen the ideological and political leadership of the party, and perfect the division of work between party and government.

(4) Take great care for the lives and health of the faculty, continue to improve working conditions, and take care of fundamental work procedures in the next few years.

In China the computer software contingents are still very weak. The research forces of the higher institutions of learning should become one of the centers of software research in China. If Nanjing University comprehensively organizes and makes rational plans for the relevant forces, making them into a "fist," and then does some hard work, it is entirely possible for it to become a "national team" in this field on the battlelines of higher learning, and to make new contributions to the development of China's computer industry.

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## STATE COUNCIL, CPC SHAKEUP BY DENG, HU EXAMINED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 9, Sep 82 pp 9-13

[Article in "Word From the North" column by Luo Bing [5012 0390]: "The Expansion of Hu Yaobang's Influence and the Deng-Hu System"]

[Text] Elimination of "Centrifugal Elements"

Before the 7th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the 12th CPC Congress, the CPC has made many personnel readjustments, and in particular has retrenched organizations. In the central organizations, many "centrifugal elements" have already been eliminated, thereby strengthening the Deng-Hu system.

The so-called "centrifugal elements" are mainly people who deviate from or oppose Deng Xiaoping's line. Obviously, the strength of the "whatever faction" has been basically eliminated and the power of the "petroleum faction" has fallen to its lowest point.

The so-called Deng-Hu system is mainly the organizational system in the party, government, and army with Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang as its core.

At present it can be said that all the organizations of the State Council and the CPC Central Committee have already been brought into the Deng-Hu system.

After the retrenchment of the State Council, there are now 1 premier, 2 vice premiers (originally 13), 10 members of the Standing Committee, and 41 ministries and commissions (originally 52). The original over 500 vice ministers have now been reduced to slightly over 360. The average age has dropped from 64 to 58. In addition, through structural reform, the organizations directly subordinate to the State Council have been reduced from 41 to 15 (18 were incorporated into various ministries or commissions). The news agency XINHUA, which was directly subordinate to the CPC Central Committee, is now a department of the State Council.

Of course, the "retrenchment" was only in "quantity," but "quality" has also been improved. This so-called heightening of quality mainly means that the proportion of people inclined toward the Deng-Hu line has risen.

Naturally, Premier Zhao Ziyang is a person who follows the Hu-Deng line.

Wan Li Is Also a Trusted Subordinate.

Vice Premier Wan Li is also a trusted subordinate of Deng Xiaoping's.

Wan Li, 66 years old this year, was the mayor of Beijing before the "Cultural Revolution." Beijing's famous 10 big edifices were built mainly under his leadership. In the "Cultural Revolution" period when Deng Xiaoping reemerged, Wan Li became minister of railways. At that time the nationwide railway communications were in a state of chaos and urgently in need of a thorough overhaul. Wan Li mobilized all the railway staff and workers and swiftly reversed the chaotic situation in railway transportation. He wore work clothes and personally rode trains everywhere on inspections, and wherever he went he solved railway problems. People said he was "the minister who travels on a thousand li [wan li--pun on his name] of track." During the movement to "criticize Deng and counterattack the right deviationist evil wind of reversing correct decisions," the "gang of four" shouted loudly that they would rather have a socialism that ran late than a capitalism that ran on time, and they slandered Wan Li by saying that he was a "sinister example" and struck him down. After the "gang of four's" downfall, in 1977 Wan Li became the first secretary of the Anhui provincial party committee. During this period he frequently made tours in disguise, was concerned for the people's weal and woe, and resolved many unjust, false, and mistaken cases. The Anhui masses named him "Blue Sky--Just Judge--Wan." At the same time, Wan Li involved himself keenly in Anhui's rural economy and changed the working features of the entire province. As evidence of this there is the nursery rhyme: "Want rice to eat look for Wan Li; want grain to eat look for [Zhao] Ziyang," After this, Wan Li was transferred to Beijing and became vice premier and concurrently minister of the State Agricultural Commission. His post in the CPC is secretary of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat. From Wan Li's experience, it can be seen that he is on Deng Xiaoping's side.

"You Have a Big Nerve!"

Recently, a friend in cultural circles in Beijing told me a story that illustrates this point.

Before the turn of the year, there was a public showing of the Japanese film "Longing for the Hometown," which received a big welcome from young people. In this film was a nude scene, which was over in a flash and had not the slightest sexual contact, but Huang Zhen, then minister of culture, on learning of this scene, immediately ordered a ban on showing of the film. Therefore, "Longing for the Hometown" was "cut off" halfway in its showing. There was a public outcry. When Vice Premier Wan Li heard of this he summoned Huang Zhen and said to him: "You have a big nerve! Do you know who approved the public showing of "Longing for the Hometown"? It was Vice Chairman Deng who personally approved the showing. He has now gone to America (on a visit), and you have stopped the showing..." Flabbergasted, Huang Zhen immediately made a telephone call lifting the ban on "Longing for the Hometown."

My friend cited this story to show that Wan Li is a diehard follower and trusted subordinate of Deng Xiaoping's and that his power is great. This view is of course, correct.

The other vice premier retained in his post is Yao Yilin, and he is also an important figure on the Deng-Hu side. This leading figure in the student movement in Beijing and Tianjin in the mid-1930's was mainly engaged in propaganda work before the founding of the PRC. After 1949, he was principally engaged in financial and economic work and in secretarial work. He has been vice minister of trade, minister of commerce, deputy secretary general of the CPC Central Committee, and vice minister in charge of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee.

#### Yao Yilin--Hu's "Old Partner"

Yao Yilin, 65 years old this year, is really good at secretarial work. Since the 1950's, he has always written his own articles and reports without the aid of a secretary. He is also an expert in finance and trade. Every time he goes to a university to report on relevant financial and economic issues, he receives a warm welcome. The students say his reports are realistic in content and vivid in language. He behaved well during the "Cultural Revolution." His stock reply to the many twisted arguments put forward by the Red Guards was: "Marx didn't talk like that." With regard to the unreasonable demands raised by these so-called revolutionary masses, he always answered them by saying: "This is a state secret and cannot be divulged." He can be called an "old partner" of Hu Yaobang's, and when, after the "gang of four" fell from power, he was appointed deputy secretary general of the CPC Central Committee, the secretary general at that time was Hu Yaobang. When the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee was established, Hu Yaobang became its general secretary and Yao Yilin became one of its secretaries.

Of the ministers and ministers in charge of the various ministries and commissions of the State Council, the most prominent figure is Zhang Jingfu. He also can be said to be completely loyal to Deng Xiaoping's line.

#### Zhang Jingfu's Position Is Unusual

Why do I say that, of the high officials with the rank of minister or minister in charge, Zhang Jingfu's position is particularly illustrious?

First, I say this because Zhang Jingfu is the minister in charge of the State Economic Commission, and the commission was formed by incorporating several former commissions. Of these former commissions, the ministers in charge of the agriculture, machine-building industry, and energy commissions are all vice premier (Wan Li, Bo Yibo, Yu Qiuli). From this, the weight of this commission and its new leaders can be realized.

Second, of the 10 members of the Standing Committee of the State Council, 9 are former vice premiers. They are Yu Qiuli, Geng Biao, Fang Yi, Gu Mu, Kang Shi'en, Chen Muhua, Bo Yibo, Ji Pengfei, and Huang Hua (former vice

premiers Yang Jingren and Zhang Aiping are not members of the Standing Committee). On the namelist of the Standing Committee, only one person--Zhang Jingfu--is not a former vice premier.

These two facts show that Zhang Jingfu's position is very unusual. This fair-haired boy in the State Council, who is almost 70 years old, is a former first secretary of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee and a former governor of Anhui Province. Before this he had been minister of finance, vice minister in charge of the State Scientific and Technological Commission, and vice president of the Academy of Sciences. Again, going against the current, he was afterward appointed to local posts.

There is an interesting story from the year that Zhang Jingfu was transferred from the post of minister of finance to that of first secretary of the Anhui party committee. It is said that a veteran cadre, on reaching a great age, gave a big banquet and then applied for reimbursement. Finance Minister Zhang Jingfu was unwilling to approve the reimbursement and passed the issue on to Hua Guofeng. Hua Guofeng, not daring to offend this revolutionary of the older generation, approved it, saying: "This reimbursement is not to be taken as a precedent." Because Zhang Jingfu offended the veteran cadre, relations between the two became strained, to the extent that their relationship in the Standing Committee of the Politburo was affected. In order to alleviate this situation, Zhang Jingfu was transferred from the Finance Ministry and became chief of the party and government in Anhui. There were many people in the central government who had rather little to say about Zhang Jingfu's transfer because he had maintained a principle of the party spirit.

After Zhang Jingfu went to Anhui, he roused himself for vigorous efforts to make the country prosperous and worked with a will to make the country strong, did many good things for the people, and was universally praised by the local masses.

It can be said that Zhang Jingfu, regardless of whether he was in the financial and economic departments of the State Council or was a cadre in Anhui Province, enjoyed quite high prestige.

This shows that Zhang Jingfu's promotion enjoyed public confidence and was also a recognition by Deng and Hu of his talent.

Niece of Chiang Air Force Maj Gen Chen Qixia

In the State Council, with the exception of Wan, Yao, and Zhang, the youngest member of the Standing Committee and minister of foreign economic relations and trade, Chen Muhua (61) is a person who attracts considerable attention. In government circles, she is a woman of power cloaked in mystery. In Beijing, many foreign correspondents and members of embassies have made great efforts to find out Chen Muhua's background. In issue No 55 of CHENG MING, I introduced this somewhat legendary and colorful figure. Here I will make four additional points.

1. Chen Muhua went to Yan'an in 1938.
2. After the state was founded, Chen Muhua did specialized work pertaining to coal mines, railways and planning. In the later part of the 1950's, she went to Vietnam as an expert to help in construction. After returning to China, beginning in the 1960's she has been engaged in foreign economic liaison work.
3. Chen Muhua is the niece of Kuomintang Air Force Maj Gen Chen Qixia. Chen was the commander of the Xianqiao Dadui, one of the three dadui of the Kuomintang Air Force. In the civil war period, because of war weariness he returned to his home village and tilled the land. Because of this, in the various political movements after founding of the PRC he was not attacked, but on the contrary became a counselor in the Zhejiang Provincial Conselors Office.
4. Chen Muhua's husband is a man named Zhong Yi. Originally a military cadre, he was transferred to civilian work in the localities and works for the State Planning Commission. His official position used to be higher than Chen's, but now hers is higher.

#### A Highly Secret Affair

This is what an "authoritative source" who once worked with Chen Muhua told me. He said: "This is a secret that must not be divulged. Only a very few people in the country know about it, and oversees it would be hard to find anyone who knows about it."

People didn't used to pay much attention to Chen Muhua, but 2 or 3 years ago, her level of recognition suddenly shot up because of the "special plane incident."

The "authoritative source" gave me some fresh and fairly precise inside information about this incident.

A seriously ill member of a basketball team wanted to return to Beijing on Chen Muhua's private plane and get emergency treatment, but, because he did not ride on the plane, he missed his chance to get emergency treatment and, as a result, died. There was a lot of reaction to this affair and some people in the State Council voiced criticisms. At a CPPCC conference in 1980, many Standing Committee members brought the matter up and expressed a lot of indignation. When Chen Muhua learned of this, she wrote a letter to Liu Lantao, secretary general of the CPPCC, saying that at the time the incident occurred she knew nothing about it and that the whose matter had been handled by her secretary, who did not ask her for instructions. Chen's letter also said that the central authorities had approved the special plane and that she herself had not wanted to ride on it. She said that the incident is now causing her more and more trouble and that it is truly incomprehensible and thus requires clarification.

At the time was Chen Muhua wronged?

Up to today, people in Beijing have not again brought up this "special plane incident." In reporting on this incident in Chen Muhua's experience, the press only used 89 characters, not enough to satisfy people's "curiosity" (it should really be said to be their "knowledge of the facts in the case"), and therefore people's interest in this favorite of the State Council has cooled off.

#### From Zhang Chen and Wu Lengxi We See What "Closely Following" Means

Of the new people in the State Council, although many of them are talents who possess specialized knowledge, there are also those without special professional talents who have become ministers. Zhang Chen, minister of nuclear industry, is an example. She is certainly not a so-called "high-grade intellectual." Her posts in the past were only those of deputy head of a cotton mill, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission of Shenyang Municipality, and deputy director of a bureau in the Second Ministry of Machine Building. There were several reasons why she became minister of nuclear industry, including: 1) her politics are good and 2) she is popular. From this we know that, in selecting talent and choosing people for a job, Deng and Hu put "politics" first. What is called being good in politics means to closely follow Deng and Hu.

In the past, during the Mao Zedong era, "closely following" was stressed. Now there still must be stress on "closely following."

In the State Council's personnel changes, Wu Lengxi's appointment to the post of minister of radio and television was quite a surprise to some people. However, people who knew the inner story did not think in this way. They think that although Wu Lengxi in the past was influenced by the "whatever faction" and once did not do well, after a "deepgoing investigation" was made, he indicated his "firm support for the line of the third plenary session." Deng Xiaoping then sent him to the localities for "tempering" (he became secretary of the Guangdong provincial party committee) and Deng hinted that he would transfer him back to the center in the future. Some people in Beijing say that it can be seen from Wu Lengxi's return to the capital that Deng Xiaoping has a political mind; but there are also people who think that from this one knows that precept "better 'left' than right" is still applicable. But, no matter what the case is, Wu Lengxi today is not a member of the "whatever faction" but is a "close follower."

With so many members of the "close follower faction" in the leading group of the State Council, naturally the Deng-Hu system has been greatly strengthened.

#### From Trusted Follower of Liu Shaoqi's to Trusted Follower of Deng Xiaoping's

The strengthening of this system is shown not only in the renovation of the leading group of the central government but also in the changes in the leading members of the organizations of the CPC Central Committee.



From the reorganization of the Central Committee Party School it can be seen that the "whatever faction" has further lost power and influence in the leading organizations.

That Deng Liqun, who in recent years has been shown to be "strong in the principle of party spirit and, from being a trusted follower of Liu Shaoqi's, has become a trusted follower of Deng Xiaoping's and has replaced Wang Renzhong as director of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee was no surprise to people.

Naturally, Beijing cultural circles have views about Deng Liqun.

Besides being comparatively interested in the reorganizations of the Propaganda Department, people are paying attention to the personnel changes at RENMIN RIBAO.

Why Was a Directorial System Set Up in RENMIN RIBAO?

It is said that someone raised the question of chief editor Hu Jiwei's age and that, subsequently, there was an atmosphere for having Hu Jiwei become an adviser. However, the "popular will" within RENMIN RIBAO did not agree to this arrangement. Many people pointed out that Hu Jiwei's thinking was comparatively liberal and that he was a firm supporter and faithful implementer of the ideological line of the third plenary session. During his tenure of office, RENMIN RIBAO published many good articles on the topic of upholding principles that were stronger than those of the news agency XINHUA or the magazine RED FLAG, so why is it that Hu Jiwei could not continue to be chief editor but Xiong Fu, who was influenced quite a bit by the "two whatevers," could continue to be chief editor of RED FLAG?

It is said that, out of respect for the "popular will," the CPC Central Committee decided to change RENMIN RIBAO to a directorial system and make Hu Jiwei the director and Qun Chuan the chief editor.

Viewed from a certain angle, the personnel reorganization of RENMIN RIBAO was different from the personnel changes in the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee and in the Ministry of Culture of the State Council. Some persons whose thinking had become rigid have been removed from leading posts, while persons who are loyal to the third plenary session's line are not absolutely unimpeded and unblocked.

My Beijing friend found that, in the process of strengthening the Deng-Hu system, some old colleagues, old superiors, and old subordinates of Hu Yaobang's have mounted to leading positions in certain departments.

Of the above-mentioned current right-hand men (vice premiers) of Zhao Ziyang's, Yao Yilin is an "old partner" and aide of Hu Yaobang's.

Hu Jiuli's Big Promotion

A figure in Zhongnanhai who is extremely worthy of attention--Hu Qili--is also an old subordinate of Hu Yaobang's.

Hu Qili can be said to be a high-ranking cadre in the CYL who bestrides two eras. In 1964, he became an alternate secretary of the CYL Central Committee. In the "Cultural Revolution" period he was transferred to a lower level in the localities for a long time, taking up the post of regional party secretary. After the "Cultural Revolution," Hu Yaobang came back to Zhongnanhai and Hu Qili's name became one of the "five Hu's." At the 1st plenary session of the 10th CYL Central Committee in 1978, he was reappointed to his post as secretary of the Secretariat and concurrently became secretary general of the CYL Central Committee, listed second only to First Secretary Han Ying. When Lin Hujia was transferred to the post of mayor of Beijing, Hu Qili filled the vacancy left by Lin Hujia by becoming mayor of Tianjin.

Now, Hu Qili has been transferred from the localities to Zhongnanhai and plays an important role there--director of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee (the previous director was Yao Yilin).

For many years, straight up to last year before the sixth plenary session was held, the two chairmen of the CPC Central Committee (Mao Zedong and Hua Guofeng) have let their trusted follower have the post of director of the General Office, viz, Wang Dongging.

In the past, the power of the director of the General Office of the Central Committee has been extremely great.

My friend told me about a "top secret" situation.

#### Special Agent Role of the General Office of the Central Committee

During the years that Mao Zedong was consolidating his own power, he used various methods to keep a watch on Politburo members and on cadres with the rank of vice premier and above. Responsible for the mission of what was called "security work" was the "Ninth Office." The so-called "Ninth Office" is the Ninth Office of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, viz, the garrison office. All heads of this office have been people with high connections. People who have read articles concerning the details of Peng Dehuai's past experiences know this.

In those years, the security personnel at Peng Dehuai's side were in reality special agents keeping a watch on Peng Dehuai. In addition to the "Ninth Office," the General Office of the Central Committee had an even more secret mission, viz, recording and reporting the speech and activities of members of the Politburo Standing Committee and of cadres with the rank of vice premier and above. In every high-level cadres' home were personnel of the Organization Service and Administration Bureau. They were drivers, cooks, workers, etc., and among them were people from the General Office of the Central Committee. Therefore, every work and act of the high-ranking cadres were known by the director of the General Office of the Central Committee and

was afterward reported by him to Mao Zedong. Therefore, between the high-ranking cadres there were basically no private contacts, and when they did meet each other they seldom spoke of what was in their hearts. In the latter stage of the "Cultural Revolution," the contacts between Ye Jianying and Deng Xiaoping were not held in Ye Jiangying's home but in the home of his younger brother, Ye Daoying, in order to avoid "divulging confidential matters."

Now, the working mission of the General Office of the Central Committee and its director should be different from that in those years. However, no matter what the mission is, the General Office of the Central Committee has always been an important organization in Zhongnanhai, and Hu Qili is one of the closest trusted followers of Hu Yaobang's.

When Hu Qili was transferred from Tianjin, the post of that city's mayor was temporarily filled by Li Ruihuan. Li Ruihuan is a member of the CYL Central Committee, a member of its Standing Committee, and a secretary of its Secretariat. He is also a figure in the Hu Yaobang system.

Li Chang and One of the "Two Hu's"

In the past, Li Chang, the present executive chairman of the Presidium of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, did not attract much attention. He is an old colleague of Hu Yaobang's. In 1952, he, together with Hu, was picked to be a secretary in the Secretariat of the CYL Central Committee. At the 4th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Li Chang and Jing Nanxiang (now dead), deputy secretary of the CYL and minister of education in the early period after the founding of the state, were made by by-election members of the CPC Central Committee. It is believed that they will be subsequently confirmed at the 12th party congress.

Hu Keshi, current vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, has been a colleague of Hu Yaobang's for the longest time and their relationship is close. In 1952, Hu Keshi became an alternate secretary of the CYL Central Committee and in the following year was promoted to full secretary. In the CYL Central Committee, they are called the "two Hu's."

Feng Wenbin Exercises Real Power in the Central Committee Party School

The Party School of the Central Committee is a big organization. The current president of the school, whose name is Wang Zhen, is old, and real power in the Party School is exercised by one of the vice presidents, Feng Wenbin. Feng is concurrently deputy director of the Party History Research Center of the Central Committee and chairman of the Commission for Collecting Party Historical Data of the Central Committee. He was once Hu Yaobang's superior. In 1949, at the first plenary session of the First Central Committee of the New Democracy Youth League, held on 4 April, Feng Wenbin was elected secretary of the First Central Committee of the League. At the third plenary session of the First Central Committee of the League in 1952, Hu Yaobang joined the Secretariat of the League Central Committee and worked under Feng Wenbin's leadership. In the 1957 "antirightist" movement, Feng was forced

from office and Hu Yaobang took Feng's position with the title of "first secretary of the League Central Committee." In this year's streamlining of the administrative structure, Feng lost his position as deputy director of the General Office of the Central Committee. It is said that the reason he lost this office was because, in handling the case of economic crimes committed by the sons and daughters of a very old veteran cadre, he "offended" that veteran cadre to his face. However, Feng's current posts cannot be overlooked.

Wu Xueqian and Xiang Nan

In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, First Vice Minister Wu Xueqian has drawn considerable attention. In the 1950's, he was once the director of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee and was Hu Yaobang's "subordinate." Afterward he was transferred to the posts of bureau chief and deputy director in the International Liaison Department.

Among the cadres holding important posts in the State Council and in the organizations of the CPC Central Committee is also a batch of persons who were once cadres in the CYL Central Committee. For example, Wang Wei, first vice minister of the Ministry of Public Health and concurrently deputy director of the State Family Planning Commission; Lu Jindong, vice minister of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission; Wang Zhaohua, deputy director of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee; and Li Shuzheng, deputy director of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee--all of these people were once secretaries in the Secretariat of the CYL Central Committee (Li Shuzheng was an alternate secretary).

Among the current first secretaries of provincial party committees, Xiang Nan, first secretary of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee, is the focus of everybody's attention. From 1957 to 1964, he was a secretary in the Secretariat of the CYL Central Committee. Others like Xiang Nan who in the past were secretaries of the CYL Central Committee are Liang Buting, first secretary of the Qinghai Central Committee, and Zhang Ze, secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee. Liu Daosheng, secretary of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee; Yang Haibo, vice president of the China University of Science and Technology; and Xu Weicheng, director of BEIJING RIBAO--all of these people were secretaries of the CYL Central Committee in the 1950's or 1960's (Xu Weicheng was an alternate secretary).

#### Expansion of Hu Yaobang's Influence

From the above-mentioned developments in personnel we see that Hu Yaobang is beginning to expand his power in the party and government organizations. This influence has three characteristics:

1. Its members and backbone are cadres of the CYL Central Committee.
2. Hu Yaobang, this old CYL first secretary, is its core and its direct organizer and commander.

3. On the surface it is a system formed by Hu Yaobang himself, but in reality it is part of the Deng-Hu system.

The third characteristic is not easy to see. Up to now, the ideological line and the political line of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang have been identical, and people have been unable to find any rift in their harmonious relationship. At the beginning of this year, Hu Yaobang, at a symposium of organizations directly subordinate to the CPC Central Committees, made a speech in which he looked back at the history of 1966: The "Cultural Revolution" was just beginning, and in the core leadership stratum of the CPC there occurred a fierce debate about choosing a successor to Mao Zedong with Mao Zedong preferring Lin Biao and Zhou Enlai recommending Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Then Hu Yaobang said: If Mao Zedong at that time had decided that Comrade Deng Xiaoping would be his successor and had let Comrade Deng Xiaoping take his place, the Chinese revolution would not have taken the 10-year detour. At that time Comrade Deng Xiaoping was a little over 60 years old--in the prime of life--and he had handled many things well. From this we know that Hu Yaobang is Deng Xiaoping's faithful follower. He certainly will not pull together his assistants and set up an independent kingdom. That Hu Yaobang selected some people from among former cadres of the CYL Central Committee was only in order to strengthen the Deng-Hu system and was not in order to establish and strengthen his individual influence. Looked at from another angle, and even from Deng Xiaoping's angle, for Hu Yaobang to put some old colleagues and old subordinates in important positions was what he should have done. Within the CPC and within the CPC Central Committee, factionalism exists to a serious extent. If you are a leading figure in the party and do not have assistants and companions who are your diehard followers, there is the possibility that you will be overthrown by your political opponents and all of your ideological lines and political lines will fail.

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